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GHATE'S
LECTURES ON RIGVEDA

REVISED and ENLARGED

BY

Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, M. A, Ph. D.

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PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION

In the following pages are reproduced, with a few alterations, the Lectures on Rigveda, given by me, last year, at the University of Bombay, in connection with the post-graduate studies. My object has been just to place in the hands of a beginner of the study of the Rigveda a handbook which would serve as a popular and convenient introduction, so as to enable him to enter upon the study with confidence and cheerfulness. For several reasons, it was not poossible to do full justice to the subject, and the treatment of the few topics which alone could be touched upon, was bound to be cursory and incomplete. I have tried only to present in an interesting and easily digestible form the modicum of information with which a student of the Rigveda should be equipped. It is hoped that the reading of these pages would induce a student to know something more of the Rigveda and would give him the general outlook necessary to begin the study in the right spirit. Before concluding I have to request that this handbook to the study of the Rigveda, with all its imperfections, may deserve sympathy and indulgence at the hands of the readers.

ELPHINSTONE COLLEGE,
BOMBAY.
April, 15, 1915.

V. S. G.

Preface to the Second Edition.

As the earliest ducuments throwing light upon the hisory of the early Aryan settlers of India, the hymns of the Rigveda should be, to Indians a perennial source of interest and inspiration. It is, therefore, not a little strange to find that Rigvedic studies should evoke, even in the present restless century of research and investigation, of excavation and revaluation, so little genuine interest in India, the cradle of these songs, the country where these very hymns have in time by-gone been studied and taught with such meticulous care and deep-rooted attachment, and even reverence. The only Indian scholar who in recent years had seriously studied the Vedas and tried to arrive at an independent conclusion as to their meaning and value was my Guru, the late Professor Rajaram Ramkrishna Bhagvat. His researches have suffered undeserved neglect at the hands of his countrymen, and, owing to their being written in Marathi, have after barely twenty years, passed into unmerited oblivion.

The text of the Rigveda, it is true, has come down to us in a form not wholly authentic. Handed down through untold vistas of centuries exclusively by oral tradition the Rigveda Samhita has in the mouths of the devout reciters not entirely escaped that fate which is uniformly shared, in all climes and all ages by similar works which have originated in some early historical epoch and have continued to live on through succeeding epochs of linguistic and literary development. Nevertheless, it cannot be gainsaid that the tradition of the Rigveda is *unique* for its antiquity, purity and continuity in the history of world literature, and particulariy in the history of the literatnres of the Indo-germanic family. The oldest remnants of the Iranian group are the cuneiform inscriptions dating from about 500 B. C. and the Avesta, which has come down to us with numerous and multiform corruptions, written in a defective alphabet, which renders its decipherment an arduous and a problematic task. The early history of Greek has to be pieced together laboriously from imperfectly preserved inscriptions; the language of the Homeric poems, which are considerably later than our Rigvedic hymns, is regarded by competent critics as an artificial dialect. Latin is known to us from about the third century B. C., that is nearly 1200 years later than the latest period to which Vedic hymns have been assigned by some Western scholars. Gothic, the most archaic language of the Germanic group, is known to us chiefly through the translations of the Bible made by Bishop Ulfilas in the fourth century of the Christian era. Of the Balto-slavonic branch, Old Prussian died out in the seventeenth century; only some few imperfectly recorded specimens of Old Prussian have been preserved to us and they date from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The literary record of Gaelic, the most important branch of the Celtic group begins in the eighth century A. D. and only from the commencement of the twelfth century do we find any manuscripts which contain *sagas* and theological literature. It is needless to multiply instances. The value and importance of the Rigveda Samhita for linguistic, mythological and historical research is commonly acknowledged, if not fully realised in India It is not an exaggeration to say that the imposing structures of Indo-germanic Philology and Mythology have been reared on—and would have been impossible to rear without—the solid and broad foundation of Rigvedic tradition. And this Rigveda is our heritage. We have the prior right to its exploitation. It is our *duty* to exercise that right. Furthermore it is improper to impose on European scholars the burden of interpreting our literature, our past. We must fit ourselves to shoulder our own burdens. And for that we must equip ourselves with all the paraphernalia of the technique of modern philological and historical research. The twentieth century is a century of specialists.

It is a sign of the times that the Bombay University, recently reorganising its Deparment of Post-graduate Studies has inaugurated a course of lectures on the Rigveda. It is anticipated that the arrangement will be a permanent one. Here is, an opportunity for young Indians to learn, under competent guidance, the correct method and the results of latest researches in the interpretation of the Rigveda. It may be confidently hoped that the new scheme launched by the University will meet with ready response from the student world, and, in the fullness of time, will fructify in reawakening in India the interest in Vedic studies.

Nothing could serve better as an elementary guide to Vedic studies than this little hand-book, which embodies the lectures delivered under the auspices of the University of Bombay by the late Dr. Ghate, whose dissertation on the Vedanta, accepted as a doctor thesis by the University of Paris, entitles him to a rank among the leading Sanskritists of the present generation. It has served—and servede well—the needs of the graduate students for over a decade and a call for second edition is a clear indication of its just merits and well-deserved popularity. The lectures have been reprinted here, with the exclusion of what appeared to the editor as superfluous matter: the correction of some minor errors and inaccuracies: and finally addition of an index (compiled by Mr. N. N. Kulkarni, B. A., of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute) and of some supplementary matter, chiefly in the shape of foot notes.

These latter are mainly intended to draw the attention of the student to important works in this field which have appeared since the book was written. For the convenience of Indian students, with a view to facilitate reading and study, Sanskrit words and names have throughout been printed in Devanagari characters.

The student may further consult with advantage the chapters by Professor A. Berriedale Keith on the age of the Rigveda and the period of the later Samhitas in the *Cambridge History of India*, volume II (1922). They contain views which, if not wholly convincing, are highly interesting and suggestive.

While the revised edition was passing through the press there appeared two important aids to Rigveda study which could not be noticed in the body of the book: one of them is a new translation of the Rigveda by the nestor of Vedic studies Professor Karl Geldner of the University of Marburg, and the other is a contribution to Rigveda Lexicography by Walter Neisser more elaborate, much more copious than Grassman's dictionary of the Rigveda which it supplements. It is not impossible that the next generation will require and produce another translation and another dictionary of the Rigveda. If so, may it come to pass that they are from the pen of one who is proud to regard this ancient Samhita of the hymns of Rishis as his own, proper heritage!

BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL
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March 1st, 1926.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR.

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LECTURE I

INTRODUCTION

General neglect of the study of the Veda in India—why the Rigveda should be studied—the study essential for a right understanding of Indian history—the influence of the Veda seen everywhere and at all times—the study essential for the history of the world—important from the point of view of Comparative Philology—the effect of the introduction of Sanskrit to Western scholars—contrast between classical Sanskrit and Vedic Sanskrit—*fortuna* and उषस्—some interesting facts in the history of words—the roots कृप्, रम् and शम्—neglect of the study of the Rigveda least excusable under the present circumstances—the plan of the course of lectures.

Complaints are often made by students that the study of the Rigveda, which is very dry, is absolutely wanting not only in interest but also in utility. The same spirit animates our शास्त्रीs and पण्डितs who spend their whole lives in the study of one or more branches of philosophy or sciences like grammar and rhetorics, but none of whom seems ever to have given even a passing thought to the study of the Vedas. And this spirit seems to have been handed down from generation to generation, from very old times, to judge by the fact that even पाणिनि, the oldest known grammarian, whose अष्टाध्यायी has the honour of being regarded by the othodox people as one of the वेदाङ्गs or works specially intended as helps to the study of the Veda, deals with the grammar of the Vedic language only in a perfunctory manner. And the same is the case with the modern, highly popular manual of grammar, with which every व्याकरणशास्त्री begins the study of the subject, and whose knowledge is quite essential to every Sanskrit scholar whether of the ancient or the modern type—I mean, the सिद्धान्तकौमुदी of भट्टोजी दीक्षित wherein all the सूत्रs of पाणिनि dealing with the Vedic idiom have been put together in a section by itself called the वैदिकी प्रक्रिय', which forms the last chapter of the book, studied by very few शास्त्रीs. The class of ब्राह्मणs known as वैदिकs who can recite the Vedic texts from beginning to end without a mistake, but who are absolutely ignorant of the meaning thereof, also testifies to the fact, that the systematic exegesis of the Veda has been woefully neglected. How and why this spirit came over the votaries of Sanskrit is an enigma, especially when we remember that in the निरुक्त, the oldest known work dealing with the exegesis of the Veda, the author concludes his introduction to the work with a high eulogium of him who understands the meaning of the Veda and a scathing censure of him who only repeats the words without knowing their meaning. The verses on account of their directness and simplicity deserve quotation:[1]

स्थाणुरयं भारहारः किलाभूद् अधीत्य वेदं न विजानाति योऽर्थम् ।
योऽर्थज्ञ इत्सकलं भद्रमश्नुते नाकमेति ज्ञानविधूतपाप्मा ॥

यद्गृहीतमविज्ञातं निगदेनैव शब्द्यते ।
अनग्नाविव शुष्कैधो न तज्ज्वलति कर्हिचित् ॥

उत त्वः पश्यन् न ददर्श वाचम् उत त्वः शृण्वन्न शृणोत्येनाम् ।
उतो त्वस्मै तन्वं विसस्रे जायेव पत्य उशती सुवासाः ॥

उत त्वं सख्ये स्थिरपीतमाहुः नैनं हिन्वन्त्यपि वाजिनेषु ।
अधेन्वा चरति माययैष वाचं शुश्रुवाँ अफलामपुष्पाम् ॥

What has been said so far is, of course, only generally true, as one cannot shut one's eyes to the work done in the field by पण्डितs especially during the period of special activity about the 14th century A. D., to which I shall have occasion to refer in a subsequent lecture.

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[1] निरुक्त 1. 18 and 19. The first two verses are looked upon as interpolations by some; but that does not affect our position.

The disappointment experienced by the present student of the Veda is due more to the wrong standpoint which the student takes than to the nature of the study itself. The archaic character of the language and the distance by which we are removed from the Vedic times no doubt contribute to make the study difficult and tedious, but these drawbacks are nothing compared to the utility of the study and the interest which would follow from it, if it is only pursued in the right spirit.

Do you, young readers, come to the Rigveda with the hope of finding in it the most sublime poetry? Then I am not surprised at the disappointment which would be in store for you. You must not expect to find in the Rigveda the smooth and melodious verses of कालिदास, nor the deep and heart-rending emotions of भवभूति, nor the polished and jingling music of दण्डिन्, nor the elaborate and highly finished art of माघ, nor the deep significance of भारवि, nor the bewilderingly complex phrases of बाण. All the same it cannot be denied that the hymns of the Rigveda, at least some of them, are such as the goddess of poetry would be proud of. The freshness and beautiful imagery which characterize the hymns addressed to the Aurora, the heroic simplicity of some of the hymns addressed to the Thundering Bull, the homeliness which pervades some of the hymns to अग्नि, cannot but appeal to a sympathetic and appreciating reader. Though the Rigveda as a work of poetry cannot at all stand comparison with best specimens of Sanskrit classical poetry, still it has something indescribable in it which cannot be lightly passed over.

Do you again expect to find profound philosophy in the Rigveda? Do you wish to have cut and dry systems of thought providing answers to such questions as,—"Who am I?" "What is the relation between the individual soul and the highest soul?" "What becomes of me after death?" In the Rigveda you cannot meet with the solutions of such and other problems of life. System and arrangement of thoughts calculated to solve a particular problem of life are absent from the Rigveda. The philosophy of the Rigveda proper, if philosophy it can be called, is much more practical. The ऋषिs with their frankness and simplicity, promise to offer sacrifices to gods, provided they in return bestow on them cattle and long life, war-like sons and riches. "Did I not bring to thee an offering of my prayers and oblations? Then why dost thou, O god, abstain from conferring on me long life and continuity of sons?" —asks the ऋषि of a god more than once. Those hymns of the Rigveda which attempt to solve the riddle of life, are an exception and strike one as unvedic; and from the point of view of language and syntax, such hymns have been now authoritatively declared to be late productions, forming, as it were, the connecting links between the earlier Vedic thought and its later phase culminating in the उपनिषद्s; and it must be stated here, that even these latter are far from being expressions of one particular system of philosophy. Thus, it is no wonder, if those who are familiar with the close and technical reasoning of न्याय works, or with the abstruse argumentation of Vedantists like शंकराचार्य would, on opening the pages of the Rigveda, turn away their faces through sheer disappointment.

Then, why should one study the Rigveda? Because it is the sole means of knowing the history of the early Aryans. The Rigveda is the oldest record of the Aryans whose immediate descendants we are. It belongs to a period thousands of years removed from us, of which no other records, no monuments are available. It is indeed very fortunate that the Rigveda, though so old and voluminous in extent, has been preserved to us, in a form correct to a syllable, by oral tradition in our country. In the Rigveda, we are face to face with our ancestors, we see how they lived, how they spoke, how they thought, what religion and faith they professed, how they worshipped their gods, what their ideals were.

But it may be interposed, let the student of antiquity read the Rigveda : why should every Sanskrit student be compelled to study it? To these persons we reply that the study of the Rigveda is essential not only to a student of antiquity, but also to the student of Indian history of the present time. The Indian mind is the same in many respects, whether in the Vedic Age or in the 20th century A.D. If it be asked what that unifying principle is which runs through all the several aspects of Indinn life and temperament, we reply, it is the influence of the Veda and Vedic Age, which has permeated all strata of Indians and which is seen in every little act of ours. Whether it be religion whether it be philosophy, morals, literature or social habits, we detect everywhere its influence. Our religious ceremonies may have become more elaborate and artificial and sometimes even farcical in character, still we cannot lose sight of the basis of the Veda. We cannot open an Indian book without being thrown back on an earlier authority which is the Veda, and which is regarded as the basis of all our knowledge, both sacred and profane. The refined poetry of कालिदास, the philosophical vigour of कपिल, the voluptuous mysticism of जयदेव and epic simplicity of व्यास and वाल्मीकि, all admirable in themselves, would, however, float before our eyes like the mirage of a desert, unless they are provided with the historical background by the Vedas. Likewise all the systems of philosophy or दर्शनs and all codes of law profess to impart the teaching of the Veda.

The study of the Rigveda is essential not only for a complete understanding of the history of India, whether ancient or modern, it is essential also for the elucidation of the history of the world. To quote Max Müller.: "In the history of the world the Veda fills a gap which no literary work in any other language could fill. It carries us back to times of which we have no records anywhere, and gives us the very words of a generation of men of whom otherwise we could form but the vaguest estimate by means of conjectures and inferences. As long as man continues to take an interest in the history of his race, and as long as we collect in libraries and museums the relics of former ages, the first place in that long row of books which contains the records of the Aryan branch of mankind, will belong for ever to the Rigveda."

Above all, the study of the Rigveda is most important from the point of view of Philology, or the Science of Language. The study of languages as distinguished from the mere acquisition of languages, is a growth of the last century though it must be admitted that researches into the genealogies and affinities of words have exercised the ingenuity of

1 *Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 63.*

numberless generations of acute and inquiring minds. Still nothing deserving the name of science was the result of these older investigations in the domain of language. Those were merely hasty generalizations, baseless hypotheses and inconclusive deductions. As is the case with every science in its early stage, the science of language too was attended with difficulties namely, paucity of observed facts and a faulty standpoint. As Whitney has said[1] "National self-sufficiency and inherited pre-possession long helped to narrow the limits imposed by unfavourable circumstances upon the extent of linguistic knowledge restraining that liberality of inquiry which is indispensable to the growth of science." Thus in ancient times every one thought his own dialect to be the oldest one with which to start and compare other dialects. Until very recently Latin and Greek were supposed to be the oldest and the most primitive known languages from which every European language was derived. But the restless and penetrating investigations which characterized the last century changed the whole aspect of the study and linguists busied themselves with the study of the special relationship of the principal languages of Europe with one another and with the languages of south-western Asia, which led to the postulation of the Indo-European family of languages.

"No single circumstance," to quote from Whitney[2] again, "more powerfully aided the onward movement than the introduction to Western scholars cf Sanskrit, the ancient and sacred dialect of India. Its exceeding age, its remarkable conservation of primitive material and forms, its unequalled transparency of structure give it an indisputable right to the first place among the tongues of the Indo-European family. Upon their comparison, already fruitfully begun, it cast a new and welcome light, displaying clearly their hitherto obscure relations, rectifying their doubtful etymologies, illustrating the laws of research which must be followed in their study. and in that of all other languages "

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[1] *Language and its Study*, p. 2.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 4.

I may be excused for making another quotation owing to the importance of the subject. " What has been termed the discovery of Sanskrit by Western scholars,", says Sayce.[1] " put an end to all this fanciful playing with words and created the science of language. The grammarians of India had at an early period analysed both the phonetic sounds and the vocabulary of Sanskrit with astonishing precision and drawn up a far more scientific system of grammar than the philologists of Alexandria or Rome had been able to attain. The Devanāgarī alphabet is a splendid monument of phonological accuracy and the Hindu Vaiyākaranas or grammarians had not only discovered that roots are the ultimate elements of language, but had traced all the words of Sanskrit to a limited number of roots The grammatical system and nomenclature rest upon a firm foundation of inductive reasoning and though based on the phenomena of a single language, show a scientific insight into the nature of speech which has never been surpassed."

From all this you can easily see what an important part Sanskrit has played iu the domain of the science of

[1] *The Science of Language.* Vol. 1. p. 38.

language. Now the object and aim of philology is to learn what man is by what man has been. And Indic philology in particular has served to supply one of the earliest and most important links in the history of mankind. Sanskrit has been regarded as a language even older and more primitive than Greek and Latin. At least Sanskrit enables us to have glimpses into the activities of the south-eastern branch of the Aryans as opposed to the north-western branch. And if Sanskrit is so important owing to its primitiveness and transparency, wherewith can we begin its study if not with the Vedic idiom? The classical Sanskrit, which we now know and which is accessible and intelligible to comparatively large numbers, is itself a very old dialect, preserved to us in its pristine purity, as it early ceased to be a language of the people and continued to be a literary dialect used by the learned alone. The Sanskrit language is to-day exactly what it was in the days of पाणिनि. Thus even the classical Sanskrit is the means of studying the life and manners of a very old generation.

But this is not the case with the Vedic idiom. Though the dialect of the Veda or more particularly the Rigveda is essentially Sanskrit, still it differs from the latter in many important respects, so much so that to a student of classical Sanskrit, the Vedic language would be almost unintelligible. The Vedic is a much simpler idiom and less artificial than the classical Sanskrit. The forms of declension and conjugation are more regular, though more varied at the same time. Sandhi rules are simpler and far more intelligible. The Infinitive Mood has not less than six forms in the Veda, whereas in later Sanskrit, we have only one form. All these peculiarities I shall deal with later on in their proper place. What I want to say here is that the Vedic Sanskrit is much older than the later Sanskrit, whether the Vedic age be placed 2000 years before Christ or still further back : that it represents a state of civilization nowhere else represented; that it provides us with many links which are otherwise obscure, though without them no certain conclusion can be arrived at.

The truth of what has been said so far may be illustrated by an example. Take for instance, the modern English word *fortune*. The word was brought by the Normans who had it in the form *fortune* in Northern French. It is derived from Latin *fortuna*. Now *fortune* in English means riches, prosperity, good fortune as well as bad fortune, chance as opposed to divine will and so on. The word in all these significations can be derived from *ferre*, "to bring"; one who brings good or bad luck. *Fors* which comes from the same root and is allied to *fortune*, was the name of an old deity in Italy, who was supposed to bring with her good or evil, was the first-born of gods and was also sometimes spoken of as the daughter of Jupiter, Zeus, corresponding to द्योस्. Now who was this deity? Was it a mere personification of some virtue or act, as Victor-Victoria, Fides-Faith and so on?

If we study the mythology of the ancient Aryans, we find that the Dawn or Aurora (उषस्) was one of the deities whom the early Aryans worshipped and praised. The Dawn, as I remarked above, is the subject of many a beautiful hymn in the Rigveda. Now the Dawn is often described as the first-born of the bright gods. She is called अग्रिया, the first who comes at the head of all the other gods.

who brings, indeed, precious gifts namely, light and life, and who is, therefore, invoked first (प्रथमा । at every morning-prayer (पूर्वहूतौ). The same Dawn is also called the daughter of द्यौस् (Zeus , दुहिता दिवः and in other places, she is like *Fors* represented as the mother of the gods. There are, in fact, few praises bestowed in the Veda on उषस् the Dawn, which cannot be transferred to *Fortuna*, thus showing her to have been originally, like उषस् the bright light of each day, worshipped from the earliest days. Thus in the concept of *Fors-Fortuna* we cannot but recognize a reflex of the goddess of the Dawn who brings everything, who in her lap has good and evil gifts. Attempting to trace *Fors* or *Fortuna* (derived from *ferre*) to some Sanskrit root, we have हृ "to bring", as the most analogous one. And *Fors* is quite analogous to हरति or *har-ti* (*fert*). Derivatives from हृ (हृणीते, हर्यति) are often used of उषस् ;thus हर्यत् (adj. "beautiful, longed for") is one of the common epithets used of the Dawn.

Thus you see what a flood of light is thrown by the Vedic Sanskrit on the relation between the Western *fortuna* and the Eastern उषस and the modern English *fortune*. It is a long journey, indeed, from the golden rays of the dawn to the bright gold coins, by which now fortune is measured.

Many other interesting facts in the history of language or of words will come to view on comparison of the language of the Veda with the later Sanskrit. Thus we find that in the growth of language and thought, words often change their material into a spiritual meaning. As

1. Max Muller, *Biographies of Words.*

an instanee of this I may mention two roots कुप् and रम्. In the Rigveda कुप् is used in the sense of physical motion, agitation and रम् in the sense of stopping, fixing firm. Thus in Rigveda II. 12-2, we have पर्वतान्प्रकुपिताँ अरम्णात्, "He fixed firm the mountains that were in motion." The agitation is then transferred from the sphere of the body to that of the spirit; and कोप meant mental agitation, emotion; and as the emotion of anger agitates the mind most and commits the greatest havoc,[1] कोप came to mean anger in later Sanskrit, where again we find the word used metaphorically, to denote physical agitation; as for instance कुपितो मकरध्वजः; if कुपित is used lilerally, then मकरध्वज must mean काम or the god of love, who alone is capable of the mental emotion of anger. But, if कुपित is used by लक्षणा (indication) to mean agitated, then मकरध्वज should mean the ocean. Thus we see that what was once the literal meaning of the word has now been made possible only through a metaphor. Similarly in the case of रम् the idea of fixing firm or causing to rest is transferred from the physical domain to the mental one; and what can enable the mind to rest better than spotting or playing which causes pleasure and thus rests the mind? And even in later Sanskrit रमते preserves the old meaning as when we say क्रीडायां रमते चित्तम्. Similarly the root श्रम् originally meant in the Rigveda "to toil hard, to work zealously as at a sacrifice". In Rigveda II. 12-14 we have, of Indra:

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[1] Cf. the following verses from अध्यात्मरामायण (अयोध्याकाण्ड 4th अ० verses 35, 36) :--

तत्रापि क्रोध एवालं मोक्षविघ्नाय सर्वदा ।
येनाविष्टः पुमान्हन्ति पितृभ्रातृ सुहृत्सखीन् ॥
क्रोधमूलो मनस्तापः क्रोधः संसारबन्धनम् ।
धर्मक्षयकरः क्रोधस्तस्मात्क्रोधं परित्यज ॥

यः सुन्वन्तमवति यः पचन्तं
यः शंसन्तं यः शशमानमूती ।

शशमान is used by the side of सुन्वन्तम्. पचन्तम् and शंसन्तम्. But as toiling hard leads to exhaustion and consequent inactivity, शम् has come to mean "to be quiet or tranquil" (which has more to do with the mind), the result of physical toiling, its original meaning.

From all this it will be seen, how very important the study of the Rigveda is from various points of view. It has been my object in this lecture to bring home to the mind of the young student, who has evinced a dislike for the study of the Rigveda, the fact what a gross mistake he commits. Such dislike or even indifference might have been excusable in days of old when Sanskrit learning, especially Vedic learning, had remained stagnant; there was a time when even European scholars were dazzled by the ravishing beauties of शकुन्तला and took it to represent the best in Sanskrit literature. The raptures of Goethe on reading शकुन्तला though only in translation, are too well-known. Others went even further and positively condemned the Vedic books. Herder, otherwise an excellent judge of ancient national poetry, says in his criticism of शकुन्तला "Do you not wish with me that instead of these endless religious books of the Vedas, Upavedas and Upāngas they would give us the more useful and more agreeable works, of the Indians, and especially their best poetry of every kind? It is here the mind and character of a nation is best brought to life before us, and I gladly admit thet I have received a truer and more real notion of the manner of thinking among the ancient Indians from this one Śakuntalā than from all their Upanekats and Bagadams."[1]

But those days are now gone. The *editio princeps* of the Rigveda has marked a new epoch. Now the Rigveda and other allied Vedic literature forms a special and important subject of study at most of the important Universities of Europe and America, an unparalleled activity in the domain of Vedic study is manifested everywhere, single words are critically studied and their history traced through all available works, historical and mythologial references are attempted to be explained on a rational basis, indexes and glossaries are multiplied, and exhaustive commentaries are produced. At such a time would it not be very strange if in our University curriculum Vedic study did not find a place? When Germans and Englishmen are trying their best to understand and explain the Vedic traditions and thought, would it behove us to sit with folded hands? I really am surprised to see cultured men come forward and advocate the abolition of the Rigveda from our curriculum. Are we not best fitted to understand our ancient tradition, and the spirit proper that pervades our ancient literature? If we only free our mind from prejudice and then apply ourselves to the study of the Rigveda, and pursue the Western methods of criticism, especially those based on comparison, we are sure to arrive at the most correct and acceptable interpretation of the sacred texts. The task is, no doubt, very arduous and difficult, requiring patience and perserverance; but the magnitude of the task must not discourage you. If you only work in the right direction, never mind how little you achieve.

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[1] Max Muller. *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 5.

नेहाभिक्रमनाशोऽस्ति प्रत्यवायो न विद्यते ।
स्वल्पमप्यस्य धर्मस्य त्रायते महतो भयात् ॥ भ. गी. 2·40.

Before concluding, it would not be out of place if I say a few words regarding the plan of my lectures and the principles which I would like you to bear in mind. The object of these lectures is to initiate you into the study, to show you the way and to present to you a number of facts, an acquaintance with which is quite essential for an intelligent study of the Rigveda. It will be my aim to make the exposition as popular as possible, which is the only means to make the study both useful and interesting.

At first I shall explain to you what the Veda is, and what relation it bears to the remaining Sanskrit literature. I shall speak at length of the Vedic literature, of its subdivisions, and review briefly some of the important works which are representative of the period to which they belong, which are typical of the class of literature of which they form part. Then I shall speak of the Rigveda in particular, its contents, the principle of arrangement which holds together the different parts, the old and late portions and how to distinguish them, in the course of which it will be made clear to you that the Rigveda is not a homogeneous work, but an encyclopaedic compilation.

Next, I shall proceed to indicate the method of studying the Rigveda; comparing the merits of the orthodox and modern ways, before doing which, however, an attempt will be made to give you an idea of the amount and nature of the work done in the field by modern scholars as well as by ancient पण्डितs. Then may conveniently be presented to you the different views held regarding the contents of the Rigveda. We shall then see what the religion of the Early Aryans was, through what stages it passed, what gods they believed in, what myths were woven round them, how they were developed later on. This will be followed by a brief outline of the philosophy of the Rigveda.

Then we shall try to acquaint ourselves with the social condition of the Aryans, as depicted in the hymns of the Rigveda. Then we shall see what food and drink they used, what ideals of education there existed, whether there was caste system or not, whether widows were allowed to remarry or not, and several other interesting topics of a miscellaneous character.

After having made ourselves familiar with the ideas and contents of the Rigveda, we shall devote ourselves to the consideration of its form. We shall examine the grammatical peculiarities of forms and inflection, showing how full and varied the inflection was in the Vedic idiom. Next the metre will engage our attention, the metre which has been a necessary and an almost constant vehicle of poetry, and in which is clothed a very large part of Sanskrit literature. Lastly your attention will be drawn to the several theories put forth by different scholars regarding the age of the Rigveda, as determined by evidence both internal and external. Before concluding, I may express the hope that at the end of this course of lectures I shall have succeeded in persuading you to recognize that[1] "we have in the Rigveda a literature which well deserves at least in extracts to be known to every student and lover of antiquity, to every one who would have the poet's words ; *homo sum, humanum nihil a me alienum puto,* applied to himself. The chief importance of the Veda is not indeed for the history of literature, but it lies elsewhere ; it lies in the very extraordinary fullness of disclosures which this unique book gives to the student of philology and the history of civilization. In this no other literature is to be compared with it, and though the æsthetic value of this relic of long-vanished times has sometimes been exaggerated, yet its historical importance, its value for the history of mankind, cannot easily be overrated.

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[1] Kaegi, *The Rigveda*, p. 91.

LECTURE II

THE VEDIC LITERATURE

and its relation to other Sanskrit Literature

What is the Veda ? The view of सायण regarding the meaning of Veda—Veda is the sum of मन्त्रs and ब्राह्मणs—Vedic and Post-Vedic Literatures—Three periods of Vedic Literature—श्रुति and स्मृति—The संहिता period—The fourfold संहिता corresponding to the four priests—Rigveda, the most ancient and important—छन्दस् and मन्त्र—सामवेद-यजुर्वेद Black and White यजुर्वेद-अथर्ववेद—its historical importance—The ब्राह्मण period—The distinction between मन्त्र and ब्राह्मण—The ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण—The शतपथ ब्राह्मण—The literary estimate of the ब्राह्मणs—आरण्यकs—उपनिषद्s—वेदान्त—The meaning of the word उपनिषद्—The ten principal उपनिषद्s—The सूत्र period-Their character and literary estimate—The six वेदाङ्गs, शिक्षा, प्रातिशाख्य, शाखा, चरण and पार्शद–The प्रातिशाख्य of शौनक, छन्दस्, व्याकरण, निरुक्त—its contents—यास्क prior to पाणिनि—Two यास्कs—कल्प, श्रौत, गृह्य and सामयाचारिक सूत्रs ज्योतिष, अनुक्रमणीs, परिशिष्टs.

Before we proceed to discuss the relation which the Veda bears to other Sanskrit literature, let us ask ourselves the question, 'What is the Veda ?' No logically correct definition free from the faults of अव्याप्ति, अतिव्याप्ति and असंभव can be given. To begin with, Veda means knowledge (from the root, विद् 'to know'); Veda means विद्या; then secondarily the term denotes works (ग्रन्थs) containing the विद्या, the most sacred and authoritative विद्या, works whose authority is not to be questioned, and which are the last tribunal in matters of dispute whether in religion or philosophy or social customs.

It is of interest to know how the great Vedic exegetist सायण defines[1] the Veda. In his introduction to the वेदभाष्य. सायण first states the *prima facie* case thus: "If you define the Veda as the last of the three kinds of evidence—perception, inference and scripture—that will not do. The definition would be too wide, as it would include the स्मृतिs of मनु and others. For, by universal consent, आगम or scripture is defined as that which is an instrument of the right apprehension of things not evident to the senses. And such a definition applies to these स्मृतिs as well. You next propose to add 'provided it be not of human origin' and think in that way to make your definition faultless; that also will not do. For the Veda, too, made as it was by परमेश्वर, is of human origin. You will perhaps next say that by अपौरुषेय you mean 'not made by a corporeal living being'. But this will not do. For, from such texts as सहस्रशीर्षा पुरुषः it is clear that this Lord, too, has a body. But, you say, the kind of body you mean is one which is the result of the works of a previous life; the author of the Veda has no such body, and that is what you mean when you say that it is 'not of human origin.' But this also will not do. For the Vedas were produced by such living beings as अग्नि, वायु and आदित्य. For we have such texts as, 'the Rigveda was born from अग्नि, the यजुर्वेद from वायु, the सामवेद from आदित्य,' from which it must be recognised that ईश्वर is the maker of the Vedas, as being the director of अग्नि and others. If you define the Veda, as a collection of sayings made up of मन्त्रs and ब्राह्मणs, that will not do: for it has never been definitely decided, what a मन्त्र is and what a ब्राह्मण. Thus there is no adequate definition of the Veda."

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[1] See Peterson's *Handbook*, Pt. I. p. 5 [Compare also Lakshman Sarup's summary of anti-vedic scepticism in the Introduction to his edition of the Nirukta: *The Nighantu and the Nirukta*, Oxford University Press 1920-21.—V. S. S.]

To all this सायण replies as follows: "The definition of the Veda as the sum of मन्त्रs and ब्राह्मणs is a faultless one: and therefore it is that आपस्तम्ब in his यज्ञपरिभाषा says: 'The Veda is the name given to the मन्त्रs and ब्राह्मणs."

Further on, सायण discusses the meaning of मन्त्र and ब्राह्मण as follows:

"But it may be said, the definition of the Veda, according to which it is the sum of मन्त्रs and ब्राह्मणs is not a good definition, because no one can say what constitutes a मन्त्र and what a ब्राह्मण. Not so. For the nature of both has been clearly determined in the seventh and eighth अधिकरणs of the first पाद of the second अध्याय. At the आधान rite a text is used which runs a follows: अहे बुध्निय मन्त्रं मे गोपाय. Now there is no definition of a मन्त्र, because it is impossible to frame a definition which shall not be either too wide or too narrow. If we say that a मन्त्र is that which refers to a thing enjoined, we shall exclude the मन्त्र: वसन्ताय कपिञ्जलान् आलभते, which is itself in form an injunction cr विधि. If we give an etymological definition, and say that मन्त्र comes from मनन 'thinking' that would include the ब्राह्मणs. If we say that a मन्त्र is that which ends in असि (pre. 2nd per. sing, of अस् 'to be'), that would exclude all hymns ending in the first person forms and so on.

"Not so. It is a good difinition to say that whatever the sacrificing priest calls a मन्त्र is a मन्त्र. This denomination indicates that the texts used for the reminding of the performance of a rite, and others are also मन्त्रs.

"उरु प्रथस्व and similar texts direct the sacrifice. अग्निमीळे पुरोहितम् and similar texts are in praise of the gods. इषे त्वा and

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1. Op. Cit. p. 24.

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the texts which follow end in the word त्वा. अग्न आयाहि वीतये and texts like it are invocations. Such texts as अग्नीद् अग्नीन् विहर are directory. Such texts as अधः स्विदासीदुपरि स्विदासीद् are philosophical in character (विचाररूप); and so on. Thus, since the मन्त्रs are so very varied in kind, there is no common quality except denomination, which will serve for a definition. But the need of some definition has been shown by old teachers. Even the ऋषिs could not come to the end of things taken one by one; it is only when things are comprehended under a definition that learned men can master them' So the denomination by experts or learned men (अभियुक्त) in the words that this is a Mantra is the definition.

"In the चातुर्मास्य ritual, a text is used which runs as follows: एतद्ब्राह्मणान्येव पञ्च हवींषि. Now there is no definition of a ब्राह्मण. Why? Because, there being no limit to the divisions of the Veda, any definition which should seek to discriminate between the ब्राह्मण parts and the other parts would be either too narrow or too wide. The मन्त्र part, of which we have already spoken, is one. The remaining parts have been thus summed up by ancient teachers:

हेतुर्निर्वचनं निन्दा प्रशंसा संशयो विधिः ।
परक्रिया पुराकल्पो व्यवधारणकल्पना ॥

"It will not do to say that to define a ब्राह्मण we have only to say that it must be one or other of the things just enumerated. For all these classes are found in the मन्त्रs too". Then there follow illustrations from the मन्त्रs containing the classes enumerated.

"Then is there no definition of a ब्राह्मण? There is, and we give it. We have seen reason to hold that the

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Veda is divided into two parts मन्त्र and ब्राह्मण and we have laid down how the मन्त्र part is to be known. Well, whatever is not मन्त्र is ब्राह्मण; that is our difinition of a ब्राह्मण. This very definition is given by जैमिनि in the two सूत्रs: तत् चोदकेषु मन्त्राख्या and शेष ब्राह्मणशब्दः."

After having shown that what is called इतिहास, पुराण, कल्प, गाथा and नाराशंस्य are only different kinds of ब्राह्मणs mentioned under distinctive names, he concludes: "There are, therefore, besides the मन्त्र and ब्राह्मण no other parts of the Veda. And we have shown how these two are to be distinguished from each other. That definition of the Veda, then, according to which it is the sum of मन्त्रs and ब्राह्मण$_s$, is established."

You see how very vague is the connotation of the terms वेद, मन्त्र and ब्राह्मण; and their denotation is to be ascertained only from tradition. Thus according to the orthodox view both the मन्त्र$_s$ (or what we shall call संहिताs) and the ब्राह्मण$_s$ go by the common appellation of Veda, notwithstanding the wide gulf between the two in point of language, form and ideas.

Generally speaking, Sanskrit literature may be classed under two broad divisions: Vedic literature, and non-Vedic (or rather post-Vedic) literature. The codes of law by Manu and others, the epics, classical literature, philosophical works, commentaries and manuals, all come under post-Vedic literature, of which a beginning is marked by the predominance of the continuous अनुष्टुभ् metre. Vedic literature itself may be divided into three great divisions: the मन्त्र$_s$ (or संहिताs) the ब्राह्मण$_s$. and the सूत्रs. Of these the first two, as has been shown, are the proper, while the सूत्रs are not.

Here is the place to refer to the well-known distinction between श्रुति and स्मृति. मन्त्रs and ब्राह्मणs are called श्रुति, while the सूत्रs are called स्मृति. The श्रुति is what is heard, as opposed to what is composed or remembered : it is revealed scripture, self-evident and self-authoritative, not composed by any human authors. The ऋषिs of the hymns (सूक्तs) are thus called मन्त्रद्रष्टृ, 'the seers of the मन्त्रs' They are not responsible for the contents of the मन्त्रs. They are only the mediums communicating between gods and men. यास्क, the oldest known expositor of the Veda, while explaining the genesis of the निघण्टु, on which he writes a commentary, says[1]:

साक्षात्कृतधर्माण ऋषयो बभूवुः । तेऽवरेभ्योऽसाक्षात्कृतधर्मभ्य उपदेशेन मन्त्रान्संप्रादुः । उपदेशाय ग्लायन्तोऽवरे बिल्मग्रहणायेमं ग्रन्थं समाम्नासिषुर्वेदं च वेदाङ्गानि च ।

Here it is distinctly said that धर्म (duty) revealed itself to the ऋषिs, who handed it down by oral instruction to their descendants, to whom धर्म did not manifest itself. This is the orthodox view ; hence the extreme sacredness and importance of the श्रुति. It can be easily seen how this view came into existence and continued to gain strength. As we know, oral tradition was the only means, in early days, of communicating learning. A teacher, who learnt his स्वाध्याय from his preceptor, taught the same orally to his pupil, and this practice, continued from times immemorial naturally led to the belief that the Vedas were handed down in the same manner ; it was difficult to believe how they could have been composed by some particular persons.[2].

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[1] निरुक्त 1, 20.

[2] Here we need not discuss the view that the Brahmins or priests deliberately spread the idea that the scriptures were अपौरुषेय 'not of

As opposed to the श्रुति, there is the स्मृति, or traditional works of human origin, which are solely based on the श्रुतिs, and which are possessed of authority, only inasmuch as they have their foundation in the श्रुतिs. As कुमारिल, the great मीमांसा writer, remarks:

पूर्वविज्ञानविषयं विज्ञानं स्मृतिरुच्यते ।
पूर्वज्ञानाद्विना तस्याः प्रामाण्यं नावधार्यते ॥

Thus everything contained in the स्मृतिs is supposed to be confirmed by something corresponding in the श्रुति and when there is an antagonism between the dicta of the श्रुति and स्मृति, the former prevails: विरोधे त्वनपेक्षं स्यादसति ह्यनुमानम्. It should be noted that often the title स्मृति is applied not only to the सूत्र works but also to the metrical codes of मनु and याज्ञवल्क्य, which, however, we have not included in the Vedic literature.

To the first or संहिता period, belong the four संहिताs of the four Vedas: ऋक्, सामन्, यजुस् and अथर्वन्. Of these the ऋक्संहिता is the oldest and most important, not only from the point of view of its contents, but also from the orthodox stand-point. This four-fold division of the संहिताs evidently presupposed an elaborate development of the sacrificial ritual, since even the simplest scrifice required the four principal priests होतृ, उद्गातृ, अध्वर्यु and ब्रह्मन्, the more elaborate sacrifices requiring not less than sixteen priests.

This following verse from यास्क's निरुक्त states succinctly the functions of the four priests:

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human origin, ' that वामदेव, वसिष्ठ and others were not the composers but merely the instruments of communication, with the object of attaching greater importance to the Vedas and maintaining their own superiority, since it rests merely on a conjecture.

ऋचां त्वः पोषमास्ते पुपुष्वान् ।
गायत्रं त्वो गायति शक्वरीषु ॥
ब्रह्मा त्वो वदति जातविद्याम् ।
यज्ञस्य मात्रां वि मिमीत उ त्वः ॥

The होतृ priest recites verses from the ऋग्वेद, accompanying the offering of oblations: the उद्गातृ chants psalms at the sacrificial ritual from the सामवेद, the ब्रह्मन् is a general superintendent, whose duty it is to watch everywhere and to make corrections whenever any mistakes are committed in the general routine or particular details of the sacrifice. The ब्रह्मन् is thus required to be versed in all the Vedas. The अध्वर्यु creates the form or body of the sacrifice. Manual work such as preparing the altar (वेदी), placing the logs of wood in a particular position,making the oblations,and so on is the अध्वर्यु's duty. For the guidance of this अध्वर्यु is meant the यजुर्वेद, which is a mixture of prose formulæ containing practical directions for the sacrifice and metrical portions. It should be noted that origianlly there were only three Vedas[1], ऋक्, सामन्, and यजुस् known collectively as the त्रयी : the fourth, अथर्ववेद, which is evidently far removed in spirit from the old Vedas, was only afterwards added to the triad. Thus the three Vedas presupposed their character of being subsidiary to the sacrifice. And from the point of view of the sacrificial ritual the यजुर्वेद of the अध्वर्यु, on whom falls the main burden of the sacrifice, should deserve precedence, but even orthodox opinion is in favour of regarding the Rigveda as the first and of primary importance. Even सायण, who had first commented on the यजुर्वेद and then proceeded to comment on the Rigveda has to admit that the Rigveda must be given precedence "in such exercises as the learning of all the four Vedas, the continual study of them and the spiritual sacrifice which consists in the recitation of them." In the well-known पुरुषसूक्त, the Rigveda is mentioned first and then the other Vedas:

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[1] Cf. मालविकाग्निमित्र Act 1. verse 14:

मङ्गलालंकृता भाति कौशिक्या यतिवेषया ।
त्रयी विग्रहवत्येव सममध्यात्मविद्यया ॥

तस्मात् यज्ञात् सर्वहुतः ऋचः सामानि जज्ञिरे ।

Not only is the pre-eminence of the Rigveda thus established on account of its being mentioned first, it also follows from the fact that it is the cause of strengthening or confirming the different parts of a sacrifice. Thus the तैत्तिरीयs have the text:

यद्वै यज्ञस्य साम्ना यजुषा क्रियते शिथिलं तद् यदृचा तद्दृढमिति ।

The छन्दोगs, too, cite a speech of नारद's addressed to सनत्कुमार, which implies the primacy of the Rigveda: ऋग्वेदं भगवाऽध्येमि यजुर्वेदं सामवेदमाथर्वणं चेति.

Leaving aside the Rigveda we shall for the present proceed to the सामवेद संहिता. In the first place, it must be stated that the सामवेद does not really seem to be an independent production, since it has taken many verses, a very large number indeed, from the Rigveda. As we have said above the साम prayer book was specially intended for the उद्गातृ priest, who was to chant the psalms at the sacrifices. The संहिता text proper of the सामवेद consists of two parts, the पूर्वार्चिक and the उत्तरार्चिक. The first is divided into six lessons (प्रपाठक), each of which contains ten decades of stanzas, except the last which has only nine. This पूर्वार्चिक is also called छन्द, छन्दसी or छन्दसिका. The verses of the पूर्वार्चिक are also classified under the following five heads; I आग्नेय (treating of the god of Fire): 2 ऐन्द्र (treating of Indra): 3 पवमान(treating of the god of Wind ; 4 आरुण, and 5 शुक्रिय (both treating of the supreme god, so named because these verses were proclaimed to the world by अरुण, the god of Dawn, and by शुक्र, the preceptor of the Asuras respectively). The ऋक्s, when chanted, are called सामानि. The book of सामन्s belonging to tho पूर्वार्चिक is called प्रकृति; while those belonging to the उत्तरार्चिक constitute ऊह and रहस्य. The peculiarity of the उत्तरार्चिक is that generally three verses are grouped together and form one ऋक, the first verse being taken from the पूर्वार्चिक and this group of verses is chanted in various ways, with the सामन् so occurring in the प्रकृति. Hence the सामन्s of the पूर्वार्चिक are called प्रकृति. At the end of the पूर्वार्चिक comes the महानाम्नी, which is regarded by some as a part of the पूर्वार्चिक, by others as a separate work. The उत्तरार्चिक consists of several sections referring to the following topics in order: 1 दशारात्र, 2 संवत्सर, 3 ऐकाह, 4 अहीन, 5 सत्र, 6 प्रायश्चित्त, and 7 क्षुद्र.

Collections of hymns arranged in a particular way, and set to music are called गानs. One mode of recitation is simple and applies only to the सूक्तs or hymns taken from the Rigveda, and adopts three स्वरs, the उदात्त, अनुदात्त and स्वरित. The उदात्त is high and emphasized, the अनुदात्त is low. and the स्वरित occupies a somewhat middling position. The other mode, the musical chanting of the सामवेद, is far more elaborate and has to do with seven notes called respectively कुष्ट, प्रथम, द्वितीय, तृतीय, चतुर्थ, पञ्चम, and षष्ठ, corresponding to the पञ्चम, मध्यम, गान्धार, ऋषभ, षड्ज, धैवत and निषाद respectively.[1]

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[1] See the verses from the नारदशिक्षा quoted in Madras Catalogue of MSS. pt. I.

From the सामवेद we now pass on to the यजुर्वेद, which is specially and solely meant for purposes of the sacrificial ritual and which is, therefore, quite different in character from the two संहिताs mentioned above. The word युजुस् is explained in various ways: अनियताक्षरावसानो यजुः "a यजुस् is that, the number of letters in which is not fixed": गद्यात्मको यजु; त्रिगुणं पठ्यमानो मन्त्रब्राह्मणात्मको यजुर्वेदः.[1] The यजुर्वेद is twofold, शुक्ल (white or pure) and कृष्ण (dark). A very curious story is told by महीधर, about this twofold division of the यजुर्वेद, in the beginning of his भाष्य on the शुक्लयजुर्वेदसंहिता.. व्यास in view of the gradually degenerating intellectual powers of men, arranged the Veda into four groups, respectively called ऋक्, यजुस्, सामन् and अथर्वम् and taught them orally to his four pupils पैल, वैशंपायन, जैमिनि and सुमन्तु respectively, who, in their turn handed them down to their pupils. वैशंपायन taught the यजुर्वेद to याज्ञवल्क्य and other pupils. Once, वैशंपायन got angry with याज्ञवल्क्य[2] and asked him to give back what he had learnt. याज्ञवल्क्य vomitted the Veda by the power of योग; while the other pupils, at the command of the गुरु, swallowed up the Yajus thus vomitted, assuming the form of तित्तिरि birds. Thus the Yajus became dark and was called कृष्ण and तैत्तिरीय. याज्ञवल्क्य feeling aggrieved, prayed to the Sun, who came to him in the form of a horse

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[1] The त्रिगुणत्व refers to the triad either of संहिता, पद and क्रम, or of उदात्त, अनुदात्त and स्वरित.—V. S. S.

[2] The cause of anger is elsewhere (Calcutta MSS. Cat. I, p. 39) stated thus: वैशंपायन asked his pupils to practise some austerities in order to make good for the ब्रह्महत्यादोष. याज्ञवल्क्य seeing the inferiority and weakness of his fellows proposed that he should alone be entrusted with the austerities. At this वैशंपायन was enraged and thought him to be a despiser to the Brahmans.

वाजी) and gave him back the यजुस्. Hence this यजुर्वेद is called शुक्ल owing to the bright form of the Sun and वाजसनेयि after the वाजी form of the Sun.

Perhaps the epithet शुक्ल refers really to the fact that the वाजसनेयिसंहिता is free from a mixute wilh the ब्राह्मणs (or sacrificial directions), as opposed to the कृष्णयजुर्वेद, which is really a mixture of both मन्त्र and ब्राह्मण.

भट्टभास्कर, a commentator on तैत्तिरीयसंहिता observes in his introduction:

पूर्वं भगवता व्यासेन जगदुपकारार्थमेकीभूय स्थिताः वेदाः व्यस्ताः शाखाश्च परिच्छिन्नाः । तत्र वैशंपायनं नाम शिष्यं यजुश्शाखानामाधिपत्ये नियुयोज । स वै तं पाठं याज्ञवल्क्याय प्रोवाच । स च तित्तिरये सोऽपि च उख्राय । उख्रश्च आत्रेयाय ददौ येन पदविभागं चक्रे । अतश्चेयं शाखा आत्रेयीत्युच्यते ।

The संहिता might have been named तैत्तिरीय after this तित्तिरि.

The शुक्ल or वाजसनेयि संहिता of the यजुर्वेद which has fifteen शाखाs (काण्व, माध्यन्दिन, etc. from the fifteen followers of याज्ञवल्क्य, who first read them), is divided into forty अध्यायs each of which is again divided into short sections (कण्डिकाs) the total number of these sections being 1975. The first twenty-five अध्यायs contain the formulæ for the general sacrificial ceremonial: अध्यायs 1 and 2, those for the new and full-moon sacrifices (दर्श and पूर्णमास): 3, for the morning and evening fire sacrifice, as well as for the sacrifices to be offered every four months, at the commencement of the three seasons; 4 to 8, for the सोम sacrifice in general; 9 and 10. for two modifications of it (वाजपेयराजसूययज्ञाङ्गमन्त्र); 11 to 18, for the construction of altars for the sacred fires; 19 to 21, for the सौत्रामणि, a ceremony originally appointed to expiate the evil effects of too free indulgence in the Soma drink: and 22 tn

25, for the horse-sacrifice (अश्वमेध). The next fifteen अध्यायs, which are evidently of more recent origin, all called खिल (supplements) in the commentaries of उवट and महीधर: अध्यायs, 26 to 29 contain sacrificial formulæ which belong to the ceremonies treated of in the earlier अध्यायs; while अध्यायs 30 to 39 contain formulæ for entirely new sacrificial ceremonies, viz, the पुरुषमेध, सर्वमेध, पितृमेध and प्रवर्ग्य. The last अध्याय stands in no direct relation to the sacrificial ceremonial; it is what is known as the ईशावास्योपनिषद्.

The संहिता of the कृष्णयजुर्वेद is arranged in seven books (अष्टकs or काण्डs) containing from five to eight lectures (अध्याय, प्रश्न or प्रपाठक). Each lecture is subdivided into अनुवाकs. The first अनुवाक corresponds with the first कण्डिका of the शुक्ल संहिता, but all the rest differ, and so does the arrangement of the subjects. Many of the topics are indeed alike in both the संहिताs, but differently placed and differently treated. Thus the ceremony called राजसूय occupies the eighth प्रश्न of the first अष्टक and is preceded by the वाजपेय and the mode of its celebration, which occupy fourteen sections in the preceding प्रश्न. Consecrated fire is the subject of the fourth and fifth books. The seventh book treats largely of the ज्योतिष्टोम, including the forms of preparing and drinking the Soma juice."

1, A general idea of the contents of the Yajurveda may be had from the following quotation from Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature* (p. 183): "The religion of the *Yajurved* may be described as a kind of mechanical sacerdotalism. A crowd of priests conducts a vast and complicated system of external ceremonies, to which symbolical significance is attributed and to the smallest minutiæ of which the greatest weight is attached. In this stifling atmosphere of perpetual sacrifice and ritaul, the truly religious spirit of the *Rigveda* could not possibly survive. Adoration of the power and beneficence of the gods, as well as the consciousness of guilt, is entirely lacking, every prayer being

We pass on to the last of the संहिता, that of the अथर्ववेद, which is much later in origin[1] and which thus forms the transition from the संहिताs to the ब्राह्मणs. The text of the अथर्ववेद consists of twenty काण्डs, each काण्ड is divided into several अनुवाकs, and each अनुवाक contains a number of सूक्तs. The contents of काण्ड 1 to 7 are distributed according to the number of stanzas contained in the hymns. In काण्ड 1 the hymns have on the average four stanzas; in 2, five; in 3, six ; in 4, seven ; in 5, eight to eighteen; in 6, three; and in 7, about half the hymns have only one stanza each. काण्डs 8–13 contain longer pieces. The contents of all these thirteen काण्डs are indiscriminately intermingled.

The following five काण्डs on the contrary, are arranged according to uniformity of subject-matter. काण्ड 14 contains the stanzas relating to the wedding rite, which consist largely of मन्त्रs from the tenth मण्डल of Rigveda. काण्ड 15 is a glorification of the Supreme Being under the name of Vrātya, while 16 to 17 contain certain conjurations. The whole of 15 and nearly the whole of 16, moreover, are composed in prose of the type found in the ब्राह्मणs. काण्ड 18 deals with burial and the manes ; like 14, it derives most of its stanzas from the tenth मण्डल of the Rigveda. काण्ड 19 consists of a

coupled with some particular rite and aiming solely at securing material advantages. As a natural result, the formulæ of the *Yajurveda* are full of dreary repetitions or variations of the same idea, and abound with half or wholly unintelligible interjections particularly the syllable *om*."

[1] The codex is no doubt a late product; but, as Macdonell (*History of Sanskrit Literature*, p 185) rightly observes: "The spirit which breathes in it is that of a prehistoric age. A few of its actual charms probably date with little modification from the Indo-European period, "—V. S. S.

mixture of supplementary pieces, काण्ड 20, with a slight exception, contains only complete hymns addressed to Indra, which are borrowed, directly and without any variation from the Rigveda. The matter of this last काण्ड relates to the सोम ritual, and is entirely foreign to the spirit of the अथर्ववेद. It was undoubtedly added to establish the claim of the Atharva to the position of a fourth Veda, by bringing it into connection with the recognized sacrificial ceremonial of the three old Vedas.

From an historical point of view, the अथर्ववेद is far more important than the यजुर्वेद, inasmuch as the former is not at all liturgical in character. The अथर्ववेद gives us an insight into the habits and customs of the masses in general. To quote Whitney : "The most prominent characteristic feature of the Atharvan is the multitude of incantations which it contains ; these are pronounced either by the person who is himself to be benefited or, more often by sorcerer for him, and are directed to the procuring of the greatest variety of desirable ends : most frequently, perhaps, long life, or recovery from grievous sickness, is the object sought ; then a talisman, such as a necklace, is sometimes given, or in very numerous cases, some plant endowed with marvellous virtues is to be the immediate external means of the cure ; further, the attainment of wealth or power is aimed at, the downfall of enemies, success in love or in play, the removal of petty pests, and so on, even down to the growth of hair on a bald pate."

The अयर्ववेद is also named ब्रह्मदेव, or the Veda, of the ब्रह्मन् priest, the general director of the sacrificial ceremonial. That this was a mere pretence intended to attract greater sacredness to it, because the ब्रह्मन् was supposed to know all the three Vedas, is quite clear from the fact that in most of the old books, only the three Vedas are referred to. In ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण 5. 33, we have :

यद् ऋचैव हौत्रं क्रियते यजुषाध्वर्यवं साम्नोद्गीथं व्यारब्धा त्रयी विद्या भवति । अथ केन ब्रह्मत्वं क्रियते इति त्रय्या विद्ययेति ब्रूयात्.

Even सायण in his introduction to his भाष्य on the अथर्ववेद has a large number of passages arrayed against it, denying the character of a fourth Veda to the work. And सायण further remarks :

तदेवमामुष्मिकफलेषु दर्शपूर्णमासादिषु अयनान्तेषु त्रयीविहितकर्मसु अपेक्षितं ब्रह्मत्वं अनन्यलभ्यत्वाद् अथर्ववेदैकसमाधिगम्यम् इति स्थितम् । तद्वदेव ऐहिकफलानि शान्तिकपौष्टिकानि कर्माणि राजकर्माणि अपरिमितफलानि तुलापुरुषादिमहादानानि च अथर्ववेद एव प्रतिपादितानि ।

admitting thereby the different character of the work before him.

From the मन्त्रs we now go to the ब्राह्मणs and it is like passing from one world to another. The ब्राह्मणs are solely liturgical in character and presuppose an elaborate and most artificial development of the cult of sacrifice. All the trifling details of the sacrificial ceremonial are minutely treated and phantastic etymologies of words are given with a sacredness and significance beyond all proportion attached to them.

Haug, in the introduction to his edition of ऐतरेयब्राह्मण, distinguishes between the मन्त्रs and ब्राह्मणs as follows : "¹ That part which contains the sacred prayers, the invocations of the different deities, the sacred verses for chanting at the sacrifices, the sacrificial formulæ, blessings and curses pronounced by priests is called मन्त्र, the produce of thinking... By ब्राह्मण we have always to understand that part of the Veda.

which contains speculations on the meaning of the मन्त्रs, gives precepts for their application, relates stories of their origin in connection with the sacrificial rites, and explains the secret meaning of the latter." Though their professed object is to teach the sacrifice, they allowed a much larger space to dogmatical, exegetical, mystical and philosophical speculations than to the ceremonial itself. Their characteristic feature is deliberation and discussion.

The ब्राह्मणs are prose works and their syntax represents the oldest stage in the development of Sanskrit prose.

Not only have all the four Vedas their separate ब्राह्मणs but even different शाखाs of the same Veda have different ब्राह्मणs. The title ब्राह्मण may be explained in several ways, either as works written by the ब्राह्मणs for the sacrificial ceremonies of the ब्राह्मणs, or as works relating to the ब्रह्मन् priest, or as works dealing with ब्रह्मन् *i.e.*prayer or sacrifice in general. The principal known ब्राह्मण of the Rigveda is the ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण relating to the शाकलशाखा of the ऋग्वेदिन्s. A curious story regarding the origin of the work and its title is told by सायण in the introduction to his commentary on that work. There was a sage who had many wives, and one of them was called इतरा.[1] She had a son whose name was महीदास. The father neglected him and loved the other sons more than महीदास,and at a certain sacrifice, he allowed all the other sons to sit on his lap, but refused the honour to महीदास. Thereupon

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[1] The legend says that ऐतरेय was the son of इतरा, 'the other woman', not the legally married wife of the king; hence his neglect by his royal father. Taraporevala (*Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference*, Poona, pp. 95 ff.) seeks with much probability to connect Indian Aitareya with Avestan Aeora. V.S.S.

इतरा prayed to the goddess of Earth, who appeared at once and offered a divine throne to महीदास and seated him on it. The goddess then made him a great scholar. To महीदास ऐतरेय, enlightened by the boon of the goddess of Earth, there appeared or was revealed, the ब्राह्मण and आरण्यक called the ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण and ऐतरेय आरण्यक.

The ब्राह्मण is divided into eight पञ्चिकाs or pentads, each of which contains five अध्यायs. Thus the whole work consists of forty chapters. अध्यायs 1 to 13 treat of the duties of the होतृ priest in the अग्निष्टोम sacrifice: 14 explains the meaning of the term अग्निष्टोम and several other matters: 15 to 17 describe the उक्थ्य, षोडश, अतिरात्र and other sacrifices; 18 contains the rules to be observed by the होतृ priest; अध्यायs 19 to 24 treat of the duties of the होतृ priest at the twelve minor sacrifices; 25, the expiatory ceremonies to be performed by the यजमान, the time of performing the अग्निष्टोम sacrifice and the duties of the ब्रह्मन् priest; 26 to 30, of the duties of the ग्रावस्तुत्, सुब्रह्मण्य and the six minor priests at the Soma sacrifice; 31 to 40, of the sacrifices to be performed by a क्षत्रिय. and the mutual relation of the ब्राह्मणs and the क्षत्रियs.

The other ब्राह्मण of the Rigveda is called कौषीतकि ब्राह्मण and represents the बाष्कलशाखा.

To the सामवेद belong several ब्राह्मणs of which the ताण्ड्य (or पञ्चविंश,) and the षड्विंश (a supplement of the previous one), are well-known.

To the कृष्णयजुर्वेद is attached the तैत्तिरीय ब्राह्मण, and to the शुक्लयजुर्वेद, the शतपथ ब्राह्मण, so called because it consists of 100 अध्यायs. This work is, next to the Rigveda, the most important production in the whole range of Vedic literature, The ब्राह्मणs have not only provided the priests with the details of sacrificial ritual: but they also contain the basis of grammar and etymology, subjects which were afterwards developed to such a great extent as to attain the dignity of science. If we bring together all the scattered etymological passages in the several ब्राह्मणs they by themselves would make a good निरुक्त, and one may notice in यास्क's निरुक्त the frequent quotations from ब्राह्मणs (ending with इति ह विज्ञायते or इति ब्राह्मणम्) which he brings forward in support of the particular etymology he proposes. More important than this is the facr that the ब्राह्मणs contain the germs of the later epic tales. जनमेजय the celebrated King of the कुरुs in the महाभारत is mentioned here for the first time, in this शतपथ ब्राह्मण. The पाण्डुs however, who proved victorious in the epic war, are unknown to the early literature, either ब्राह्मणs or सूत्रs and अर्जुन is still a name of इन्द्र. But as the epic अर्जुन is a son of इन्द्र his origin is doubtless to be traced to this epithet of Indra. Of two legends which furnished the classical poet कालिदास with the plots of two of his most famous darmas. one is told here in detail, and the other is at least alluded to. The story of the love and separarion of पुरूरवस् and उर्वशी already dimly shadowed forth in a hymn of the, Rigveda, is here related in greater detail. भरत son of दुष्यन्त and of the nymph शकुन्तला, also appears on the scene in this ब्राह्मण.

To the अथर्ववेद, belongs the गोपथब्राह्मण which consistsof two books, (the first containing five chapters, the second six), both evidently very late in origin.

Though the ब्राह्मणs represent,no doubt, a most interesting phase in the history of Indtan thought, still, judged as literary productions, they are most disappointing. The general impression they produce is one of pedantry and, if I may say so, sometimes of downright absurdity. There is no lack of striking thoughts, of bold expression, of sound reasoning and curious traditions in these collections, but these are only like precious gems set in a base metal. The general character of these works is marked by shallow and insipid grandiloquence, by priestly conceit, and antiquarian pedantry. The decline and degeneration of the simple and pure spirit of the Rigveda is seen everywhere, accompanied by a complete misunderstanding, of the old Vedic literature, resulting from the idea that everything else is subsidiary to sacrifice. How this spirit affected the traditional course of Vedic exegesis will be more fully explained on another occasion.[1]

To this period of the Vedic literature also belong works going by the name of आरण्यकs and उपनिषद्s which often form only the concluding portions of the several ब्राह्मणs, but which on account of the absolutely distinct character of their contents and language deserve to be reckoned as a distinct category of literature. The आरण्यकs are so-called perhaps because they were works to be read in the forest (अरण्य) in contradistinction to the regular ब्राह्मणs, which were to be read in the village (ग्राम). सायण on the तैत्तिरीयारण्यक says:

अरण्याध्ययनादेतदारण्यकमितीर्यते ।
अरण्ये तदधीयीतेत्येवं वाक्यं प्रचक्ष्यते ॥

Or the reason might be that these आरण्यकs were the ब्राह्मणs for the vow of the anchorite, as they contain explanations of the ritual and allegorical speculations thereon.

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[1] See below Chapter V.

This alone was possible for the वानप्रस्थ, as a substitute for the actual sacrificial observances which were no longer practicable. The आरण्यक्s form a natural transition to the speculation of the उपनिषद्s altogether emancipated as these are from the limitations of a formal cult. Thus it may be seen that these three classes of works, the ब्राह्मणs proper, the आरण्यक्s and the उपनिषद्s mark three consecutive stages, not only in the Indian thought in general but in the life of every individual. The ब्राह्मणs advocating the actual observances of the sacrifice are meant for the गृहस्थ; the आरण्यक्s whose subject is the allegorical sacrifice, for the वानप्रस्थ; and the उपानिषद्s purely philosophic, for the संन्यासिन्. They mark the three distinct paths to निःश्रेयस्, viz. कर्म, उपासना and ज्ञान.

The उपनिषद्s mark an absolutely different path from that of the works that preceded them in the Vedic canon. The उपनिषद्s comprehended in the Vedas, are however, included in the श्रुति and are at present the most popular works. They are popularly called the वेदान्त, perhaps because they form the closing part of Vedic canon, or because they contain the highest and ultimate goal of the Veda as they deal with मोक्ष or Supreme Bliss. They are, as it were, the kernel of the whole revelation. It is to be noted that though they are looked upon as the basis of all the six systems of theistic philosophy, still it is only one of these, the उत्तरमिमांसा or वेदान्त, that has received the title as such. Knowledge, and not mere ceremonial, is the way to happiness; that is the keynote of the works we are now considering. The overdoing of the sacrificial cult brought on its own downfall, which culminated in the उपनिषद्s.

The word उपनिषद् originally meant a ' sitting, confidential secret sitting' (in contrast to परिषद् or संसद्, an 'assembly') and then, a secret teaching, secret doctrine ', a रहस्य. उपनिषद्s are frequently spoken of as : इति रहस्यम् (नृसिंह०, ८), गुह्य आदेशः (छान्दोग्य ३, ५, २,) परमं गुह्यं (कठ ३, १७). An attempt to maintain secrecy with regard to abstruse, and therefore easily misunderstood, doctrines seem to be implied in such warnings as: इदं वाव तज्ज्येष्ठाय पुत्राय पिता ब्रह्म प्रब्रूयात् प्रणाय्याय वाऽन्तेवासिने(छान्दोग्य३,११,५) One who has read the उपनिषद्s may have been struck by the feature that a teacher refuses to impart instruction to a pupil who has approached him, until by persistence in his endeavour, he has proved his worthiness to receive the instruction, as is illustrated, for instance, by the story of नचिकेतस् and the god of death (in कठ) or by that of इन्द्र and प्रतर्दन (कौषीतकी.)

Originally there must have been one उपनिषद् for every शाखा of the four Vedas, just like the ब्राह्मणs. At present we know of the following उपनिषद्s, the ऐतरेयोपनिषद्, the कौषीतकि, (both belonging to the ऋग्वेद); छन्दोग्य (belonging to the सामवेद): तैत्तिरीय, कठ and श्वेताश्वतर (belonging to the कृष्णयजुर्वेद); बृहदारण्यक and ईश (to the शुक्ल यजुर्वेद). The number of उपनिषद्s belonging to the अथर्ववेद is large, amongst which the मुण्डक, माण्डूक्य and प्रश्न may be mentioned. The ten principal उपनिषद्s known as दशोपनिषद्s are: बृहदारण्यक, ऐतरेय, छान्दोग्य, तैत्तिरीय, ईश, केन, कठ, प्रश्न, मुण्डक, माण्डूक्य. ' What is this world ?,' 'Who am I ?,' ' What becomes of me after death ?,': such questions are asked and boldly answered in these उपनिषद्s. There is an utter absence of systematic uniformity about them. The freedom and the breadth of thought which one meets with in the उपनिषद्s are remarkable, and may be appreciated if one recalls that not only the वेदान्तिन्s but also the सांख्यs and योगs, the वैशेषिकs and नैयायिकs profess to base their systems on the teachings of the उपनिषद्s. It is unnecessary to give a synopsis of the उपनिषद्s, as these are easily accessible and much indeed has been written on them both in English and in the Vernaculars. But it would not be out of place to refer here to the question as to what the उपनिषद्s teach, which has been answered in various ways. Many eminent scholars, along with the orthodox Hindus, especially of महाराष्ट्र, hold that the शंकरवेदान्त represents the true teaching of the उपनिषद्s. In spite of many inconsistent and mutually incoherent texts met with therein, the शंकरवेदान्त has best succeeded in accommodating all and evolving one definite system therefrom. The gist of the उपनिषद्s according to this view may be summed up as follows :

(1) The आत्मन् is the knowing subject within us.[1]

(2) The आत्मन्, as the knowing subject, is itself unknowable.[2]

(3) The आत्मन् is the sole realily. It is the metaphysical unity which is manifested in all empirical plurality ; an indication that all plurality is mere माया.[3]

Thus, these people say that though the expression माया, in the strict sense of ignorance or अविद्या or illusion may be of a later date, still the doctrine that the universe is illusory was taught already in the उपनिषद्s ; and that the older the texts of the उपनिषद्s the more emphatically do they maintain this illusory character of the world of experience.

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[1] Cf. बृह॰ 3, 8. 11: नान्यदतोऽस्ति द्रष्टृ नान्यदतोऽस्ति श्रोतृ नान्यदतोऽस्ति मन्तृ नान्यदतोऽस्ति विज्ञातृ.

[2] बृह॰ 3, 4, 2: न दृष्टेर्द्रष्टारं पश्येः न श्रुतेः श्रोतारं शृणुयाः न मतेर्मन्तारं मन्वीथाः ॥ न विज्ञातेर्विज्ञातारं विजानीयाः

[3] बृह॰ 2. 4, 5; आत्मनो वा अरे दर्शनेन श्रवणेन मत्या विज्ञानेन इदं सर्वं विदितं भवति.

On the other hand, others hold the view that the उपनिषद्s contain no one doctrine, as evidenced from the fact that all the six systems of philosophy try to deduce their doctrines from the उपनिषद्s ; that even the germs of the so-called नास्तिक schools like the बौद्धs and जैनs were present in them. This view is well stated in the very first paragraph of his Vaishnavism Śaivism and minor religious systems[1] by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, which may be quoted here, as it points out very lucidly the standpoint from which we should regard the उपनिषद्s. "The old Vedic gods became indissolubly involved in the elaborate and mechanical system of worship that had grown up. Speculations as regards the appropriateness of the rules and modes of worship and their efficacy as regards man's good in this world and the next became prevalent. But all this did not satisfy the religious spirit of the people. Religious speculation of a more natural order came to be established about the close of the Hymn-period and was continued into that of the उपनिषद्s. The various problems about God, man and the world engaged the attention of many thinkers and a variety of solutions was arrived at. It is generally believed that the उपनिषद्s teach a system of Pantheism ; but a close examination will show that they teach not one, but various systems of doctrines as regards the nature of God, man and the world and the relations between them. The religio-philosophic systems of modern times, which are mutually inconsistent. quote texts from the उपनिषद्s as an authority for their special doctrines. These references to the old books are correct in the most prominent cases but when the advocates of the systems force into other texts of an opposite nature a meaning consistent with their own special doctrines, they are manifestly wrong. That the उपनिषद्s teach not one but various systems must follow from the fact that they are compilations just as the Rigveda संहिता is. The speculations of the old seers were clothed by them in words, and these were handed down orally and came to form a large floting mass".

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[1] Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research, vol. III. fascicule 6, P.1.

We have now arrived at the third and last period of Vedic literature, viz. the सूत्र period ; from श्रुति we now pass on to स्मृति. The सूत्र works form the connecting link between the Vedic and the post-Vedic literatures. The style of these works. the सूत्र style, is very peculiar and stands unrivalled in the history of all the literatures of the world. If the ब्राह्मणs erred on the side of verboseness and repetition, these erred on the side of brevity. A सूत्र means an aphorism, a sentence highly artificial, enigmatic and as brief as possible. The सूत्रs were merely mnemonic catchwords, the rest of the doctrines being stored up in memory or developed in the form of a commentary. They have abosolutely no literary or esthetic value and are quite unintelligible without commentaries. For the sake of brevity, certain technical words (or संज्ञाs) and some conventional rules of interpretation (परिभाषाs) were invented, which made the सूत्रs mere riddles to one who did not first master the former. The grammar aphorisms of पाणिनि are the most typical product of the सूत्र style. Brevity was valued more than everything else. The saving of but one syllable was regarded as a matter of greater joy than even the birth of a son. And this desire for brevity may be explained thus. The ब्राह्मणs and other works relating to the sacrificial ritual became so voluminous and bulky that it became almost impossible to remember them and utilize them. Hence arose the necessity of short and convenient treatises which could be easily committed to memory. Of course in the days when the ritualistic observances were actually in full vogue, these सूत्र treatises could not have been as obscure and unintelligible to them for whom they were meant as they became afterwards; for in early times many things must have been quite familiar and plain which are now perfectly unintelligible.

The most important works belonging to the सूत्र literature are the six वेदाङ्गs. This name does not imply the existence of six distinct books or treatises intimately connected with the sacred writings, but mererly the admission to the Vedic canon of six subjects the study of which was necessary for the reading, understanding or proper sacrificial employment of the Veda. The six treatises known as the वेदाङ्गs are शिक्षा (pronunciation), छन्दस् (metre), व्याकरण (grammar', निरुक्त (etymology), ज्योतिष् (astronomy), and कल्प (ceremonial),which we shall now briefly review in order.

सायण defines a शिक्षा thus: शिक्ष्यन्ते वेदनायोपदिश्यन्ते स्वरवर्णादयो यत्रासौ शिक्षा. It was a name given to works containing rules regarding the proper pronunciation of Vedic texts. The prose work now known as शिक्षा (generally printed at the end of the संहिता along wiih other येदाङ्गs) must be, no doubt, a very modern work and one of the least successful attempts presupposing many similar works in the past. These शिक्षा works must have been originally embodied as chapters in the ब्राह्मणs but were later included in more scientific treatises known as प्रातिशाख्यs. "These प्रातिशाख्यs were written for practical purposes; their style is free from cumbrous ornaments and unnecessary subtleties. It is their object to teach and not to edify; to explain, not to discuss." The word प्रातिशाख्य literally means 'that which belongs to every शाखा.' In the course of time, as the spoken language underwent changes, the language of the scriptures must have begun to appear archaic. Besides, different persons or groups of persons must have differed from each other in the matter of the pronunciation of the texts, which gave rise to different शाखाs or recensions of one and the same Vedic text. So that ultimately the necessity of laying down certain rules regarding the phonetics and metre was felt, in order to stop any further changes. Thus came into existence the प्रातिशाख्यs, each intended for a particular शाखा.

Here I may explain the proper signification of the term शाखा and other allied words. The word शाखा literally means a 'branch', which is very vaguely used by the orthodox people. The four Vedas are often spoken of as the four branches or शाख's of the Veda. But more properly the word applies to a text of the Veda as read and handed down in a particular school, corresponding to our modern readings or recensions. In general the शाखाs of the same Veda differed very little from each other, except in the matter of pronunciation, or the addition or omission of a few verses. Thus शाखा means a particular text and not a particular school. ऋग्वेदिन् during the performance of his संध्यावन्दन, before uttering his name, says शाकलशाखाध्यायी, that is, one who reads or studies the text of the Rigveda as handed down by the शाकलs (as opposed to the बाष्कलs, now extinct).

शाखा leads us to चरण, a word also very promiscuously used. It is explanied by जगद्धर in his commentary on the मालतीमाधव as:

चरणशब्दः शाखाविशेषाध्ययनपरैकतापन्नजनसङ्घवाची

A number of men formed into one body, pledged to the reading of a certain शाखा of the Veda. Thus चरण denotes the aggregate of the students of a particular recension of the Vedic text. परिषद् is another word in this connection, meaning an assembly of ब्राह्मणs meeting together and containing men belonging to different चरणs. According to मनु and याज्ञवल्क्य a परिषद् ought to consist of twenty-one ब्राह्मणs well-versed in philosophy, logic and theology. पराशर says:—

चत्वारो वा त्रयो वापि वेदवन्तोऽग्निहोत्रिणः ।
ब्राह्मणानां समर्था ये परिषत्सा विधीयते ॥

Thus a परिषद् corresponds to University, which may consist of persons belonging to different चरणs or colleges. And the books or treatises belonging to a परिषद् are called पार्षदs, which may contain not only the प्रातिशाख्यs concerning the several शाखाs of the चरणs but other kinds of treatises also.

There is one प्रातिशाख्य, written by शौनक for the शाकलशाखा of the Rigveda. Another there is for the यजुर्वेद, attributed to कात्यायन, and the चतुराध्यायिका (also by शौनक) forms the प्रातिशाख्य for the अथर्ववेद. Of these, I may briefly notice here the contents of the शाकलप्रातिशाख्य by शौनक, in order to give you an idea of what kind of works these so-called प्रातिशाख्यs are. This प्रातिशाख्य seems to be a comparatively late work, since it is a mixture of सूत्रs and अनुष्टुभ् श्लोकs which latter were the distinguishing feature of the post सूत्र works. It is divided into three अध्यायs each of which is again divided into 6

पटलs, of which there are thus 18 in all. The 1st पटल called the परिभाषापटल treats of letters, vowels and consonants, their varieties and peculiarities, and other technical matters. The 2nd पटल called the संहितापटल treats of the संहिता and especially the combinations and mutation of vowels. पटल 3 treats of accents ; 4, 5 and 6, of the combinations and mutations of consonants ; 7 to 9, of the circumflex accent ; 11, of the elision of nasals, etc ;12. of compound letters ; 13, of the origin of letters, of the different प्रयत्नs or internal efforts, which precede the utterance of letters ; 14, of the powers of letters ; 15, of the rules for reading the Veda within certain prescribed times ; and 16 to 18, of metres, their feet and their presiding divinities.

The second वेदाङ्ग is छन्दस् which is also designed for the purpose of securing the proper reading and reciting of Vedic texts. As we have seen, the closing sections of the शौनक's प्रातिशाख्य treat of this very subject. The वेदाङ्ग work known at present is a work by पिङ्गल, which however, cannot be the oldest वेदाङ्ग. For पिङ्गल's treatise deals with the Vedic as well as classical metres, looking upon both as equally important. As in the case of the शिक्षा, we have whole chapters in ब्राह्मणs, and आरण्यकs, explaining and accounting for the names of the different metres. Of the Vedic metres I shall speak more fully in another lecture.

The third वेदाङ्ग is व्याकरण or grammar, which is necessary for the understanding of the Veda, and the work which now passes for this वेदाङ्ग is अष्टाध्यायी of पाणिनि. This could not have been originally the वेदाङ्ग proper, since as remarked already the अष्टाध्यायी deals mainly with the classical Sanskrit, and only by way of exception with the Vedic Sanskrit. It is more reasonable to suppose that the work marks the last attempt in this province, which on account of its great merits acquired such a great celebrity as to supersede almost all that had been written on grammar before it.

Two other सूत्र works on grammar deserve to be noticed here, both belonging to a period anterior to पाणिनि; the सूत्रs on the उणादि affixes[1] and the फिट्सूत्रs. The उणादि affixes are those by which nouns are formed from roots, the nouns being used in a conventional sense, and not in strict accordance with their radical meaning. They are called उणादि, because in the सूत्रs, as we have them, उण is the first-mentioned affix, in their present form, the सूत्रs seem to treat the Vedic words as exceptions. The फिट्सूत्रs treat only of the accent and as the accent is used in Vedic words only, this second collection of सूत्रs is only meant for the Vedic dialect.

The fourth वेदाङ्ग, to which we shall now turn, is the निरुक्त, concerning itself with the derivation or etymology of words, and as such necessary for the understanding of the Vedic text.[2] This वेदाङ्ग is at presnt represented by the work of यास्क. It is necessary here, in order to avoid confusion, to distinguish the two works from each other, which are both attributed to यास्क. One is the निघण्टु consisting of mere lists of words, and the other is the commentary on the same: and it must be the former work which is regarded as the वेदाङ्ग. The peculiarity of this वेदाङ्ग is that it is solely devoted to

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[1] Dr K. B Pathak, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institvte*, 1922-23. pp. 111 if., citing Katyayana, Patanjali, Jinendrabuddhi, Kaiyata. and Haradatta contends that Panini is the author of the Unadi Sutras also.—V. S. S.

[2] On the Nirukta, see the excellent edition by Lakshman Sarup. *The Nighantu and the Nirukta*, Oxford University Press, 1920-21. —V. S. S.

Vedic words. The निघण्टु or समाम्नाय consists of three portions divided according to the subject-matter of the words. The first of these is called the नैघण्टुक काण्ड, where, for the most part, lists of synonymous words are given. This portion occupies the first three अध्यायs. In the first of these, words connected with things relating to space, time etc. in this and other worlds are given. In the second, words connected with men, their limbs, etc., and in the third, words expressing qualities of both the preceding objects, such as thinness, shortness, etc., are given. The fourth अध्याय, which forms the second portion of the समाम्नाय or the vocabulary, is called नैगम काण्ड; since for the most part, it consists of obsolete Vedic words and homonyms; for this reason, it is also called ऐकपदिक काण्ड. The fifth and the last chapter of the समाम्नाय, forming the third portion, is called दैवतकाण्ड; for the names of the देवताs or deities are given therein.

On this vocabulary is written a commentary which is also called निरुक्त and which is very important for several reasons. Firstly, it represents the type of the earliest classical style and in this respect stands by itself. Secondly, it is the oldest known attempt in the field of Vedic exegesis, unparallelled in respect of ingenuity and boldness, and at the same time, firmly founded on the material provided by the ब्राह्मणs and आरण्यकs, which are full of incidental references to etymological explanations of words.

This निरुक्त consists of twelve chapters followed by two more परिशिष्ट chapters; each chapter is further divided into several खण्डs (sections). Of these the first three अध्यायs form the नैघण्टुककाण्ड dealing with the words in the first three अध्यायs of the original निघण्टु. अध्यायs 4 to 6 form the नैगम or ऐकपदिक

काण्ड dealing with the obsolete Vedic words contained in अध्याय 4 of the निघण्टु. And the remaining six अध्यायs form the दैवत काण्ड, corresponding to the 5th अध्याय of the निघण्टु. The most interesting portion is the discussion which covers the whole of the first अध्याय, and a part of the second, as well as the seventh अध्याय, which was as an admirable introduction to the study of the Veda.

यास्क begins with four parts of speech, नाम, आख्यात, उपसर्ग and निपात (nouns, verbs, prepositions and other indeclinables) which he defines and distinguishes from each other clearly. He then proceeds to establish the main standpoint of the school to which he belongs, viz. that all nouns are derived from verbs, after refuting in his own way all that can be said against that view. I abstain from citing the discussion in full, since a separate course of lectures bearing on Nirukta alone has been arranged for you. However, I cannot refrain from quoting the pertinent remarks of Max Müller[1] in this connection: "I doubt, whether even at present, with all the new light which comparative philology has shed on the origin of words, questions like these could be discussed more satisfactorily than they were by Yāska. Like Yāska we maintain that all nouns have their derivation, but like Yāska we must confess that this is a matter of belief rather than of proof. We admit with Yāska that every noun was originally an appellative and in strict logic, we are bound to admit that language knows neither of homonyms nor synonyms. But granting that there are such words in the history of every language, granting that several objects sharing in the same predicate, may be called by the same name, and that the same object possessing various predicates, may be called by the different names, we shall find it as impossible as Yāska to lay down any rule why one of the many appellatives became fixed in every dialect as the proper name of the Sun, the Moon, or any other object or why generic words were founded on one predicate rather than another. All we can say is what Yāska says, it was so Svabhāvatah by itself, from accident, through the influence of individuals, of poets or law-givers. It is the very point in the history of language, where languages are not amenable to organic laws, where the science of language ceases to be a strict science, and enters into the domain of history. "

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[1] Op. cit. p. 168.

यास्क next proceeds to explain the purpose served by निरुक्त, in which connectlon there is a very interesting discussion whether the मन्त्रs of the Veda (for whose understanding the निरुक्त is mainly intended) are possessed of a meaning or not. Even in यास्क's time, it appears, the Vedic language had become partly unintelligible. The first chapter concludes with some verses eulogising him who knows the meaning of the Vedas. The second chapter opens with a statement of the canons which he lays down for the derivation of words. In the case of those words where the accentuation and formation are grammatically regular and where there is a direct conection between the meaning of the word and the appellative power of the root, there is no difficulty; but where no such thing is possible, we should only look to the sense of the word and try to derive it either on the ground of some common meaning or even of some common letters. It is with the fifth खण्ड of the 2nd अध्याय that the derivation of the regular lists of words begins.

I wish to draw your attention here to two important points regarding यास्क who is alleged to be the author of the treatises. The first is that यास्क is far prior to पाणिनि as is evident from the facts that पाणिनि quotes his name in the सूत्र यस्कादिभ्यो गोत्रे (II. 4. 63), that many grammatical संज्ञाs occur in पाणिनि's work which he does not define, being probably well known in his time and having been already well defined and explained by his predecessors; whereas in the very beginning of यास्क's work, the author thinks it necessary to explain the distinction between nouns and verbs. The same conclusion follows from the fact that an improvement on the treatment of prepositions is to be observed in पाणिनि's grammar, both as regards the different sub-divisions of them and their meanings. The second point to be noticed is that यास्क, the author of the निरुक्त, is a different person from यास्क, the author of the निघण्टु[1] and for the following reasons: In the first place यास्क himself says towards the end of the first अध्याय of the निरुक्त, that there were ऋषिs who had a direct revelation of धर्म. They communicated the मन्त्रs by oral instruction to those who came after them and had not such a knowledge. Their successors again becoming unfit for oral instruction prepared this work (viz. the समाम्नाय or निघण्टु), the Veda and the वेदाङ्गs. Here यास्क the author of निरुक्त distinctly says that the निघण्टु was the work of some former ऋषिs. In the second place although यास्क invariably explains the words, according to their order in the निघण्टु, he in one case makes an exception, viz, with the words दावने and अकूपारस्य (IV. 17). In illustrating the use of these words, यास्क quotes a part of a verse from the Veda in which both the words occur, but in a different order. On this, दुर्ग[1] in his वृत्ति on the निरुक्त remarks : " The order of the words in the मन्त्र is आकूपारस्य दावने but in the समाम्नाय, the order is reverse." Hence it is known that the समाम्नाय is related by some ऋषिs and that the commentator is different from them. Lastly at the conclusion of his work, यास्क says: "A salutation to यास्क". Here he must have been doubtless thinking of his ancestor, who was the author of the समाम्नाय.[2]

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[1] Cf. Sarup. *op. cit.* Introduction. p. 14—V. S. S.

I cannot leave this subject without asking each and every student of the Rigveda to read the book and to remember that but for यास्क's attempts at explanation, howsoever unreasonable they might appear to us sometimes, (notwithstanding that the existence of some traditional authority for the interpretations and derivations he offers is implied), many a verse of the Rigveda would have remained absolutely unintelligible to us.

The fifth वेदाङ्ग is कल्प (ritual), whieh is specially intended for the proper application of the Vedic texts. The कल्पसूत्रs proper are based upon the ब्राह्मणs, which are full of rich material, and these pre-suppose a methodical and fixed distribution of the sacrificial rites amongst the different kinds of priests. They contain the rules referring to sacrifices, with the omission of all things which are not immediately connected with the ceremonial. They are more practical than the ब्राह्मणs which for the most part are taken up with mystical, historical., mythological, etymological and theological discussions. The following remarks of सायण in his commentary

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1. Cf. Sarup. *op. cit.* p. 238—V. S. S.

2. The authorship of the निघण्टु and the निरुक्त has been also discussed by Karmarkar and Siddheshwar Varma in the *Proceedings and Transactions* of *the First Oriental Conference*, Poona.pp. 62 ff.—V. S. S.

on the बौधायन सूत्रs will serve to give you an idea of the nature and purpose of the कल्पसूत्रs:

तत्र तावद्विध्यर्थवादमन्त्रात्मना त्रिधा व्यवस्थितो वेदराशिः । विधिविहितमर्थवादप्ररोचितं मन्त्रेण स्मृतमभ्युदयकारि भवतीति । ततश्च चोदितानां कर्मणां सुखावबोधाय भगवान् बौधायनः कल्पमकल्पयत् । यतो ब्राह्मणानामानन्त्यं दुरवबोधतया...अतो न तैः सुखं कर्मावबोध इति कल्पसूत्राणीमानि प्रतिनियतशाखान्तरानङ्गीचक्रुः पूर्वाचार्याः । कल्पस्य वैशद्यलाघवकार्त्स्न्यप्रकरणशुद्ध्यादिभिः प्रकर्षैर्युक्तस्य ।[1]

There are two कल्पसूत्रs for the होतृ priests, one by आश्वलायन, and the other by शाङ्खायन. Of these the आश्वलायन श्रौतसूत्र is divided into two main parts, each part consisting of 6 अध्यायs, and each अध्याय being again divided into several कण्डिकाs. They deal with दर्श and पौर्णिमास and such other Vedic sacrifices.[2]

There are several सूत्रs for the अध्वर्यु priest, of which the सूत्र of बोधायन and आपस्तम्ब (belonging to the कृष्णयजुर्वेद), and those of कात्यायन (belonging to the शुक्लयजुर्वेद) may be mentioned here. The सूत्रs for the ceremonial of the उद्गातृ priests, who followed the सामवेद, are ascribed to लाट्यायन and द्राह्यायण, both following the authority of the ताण्ड्यब्राह्मण.

"The कल्पसूत्रs are important in the history of Vedic Literature, because they not only mark a new period of literature and a new purpose in the literary and religious life of India, but they contributed to the gradual extinction of the numerous ब्राह्मणs which to us are, therefore, only known by name. The introduction of a कल्पसूत्र was the introduction of a new book of liturgy... In a short time, the authors of कल्पसूत्रs became themselves the founders of new चरणs, in which the सूत्रs were considered the most essential portion of the sacred literature, so that the hymns and ब्राह्मणs were either neglected or kept up under the name of the hymns and ब्राह्मणs of the new चरणs having ceased to form by themselves the foundation of an independent tradition or school."[1]

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[1] Max Muller, *op. cit.* p. 170: The kalpasutras have the advantage of being clear, short, complete and correct'.

[2] For a synopsis of the contents, see the edition of the text published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series—V. S. S.

To the same category of literature belong two other classes of सूत्रs the गृह्यसूत्रs and the सामयाचारिकसूत्रs. Both are included under the common title of स्मार्तसूत्रs, in opposition to the श्रौतसूत्रs, noticed above. These latter deal with rites and sacrifices enjoined by the Vedas and thus derive their authority from श्रुति (i. e., मन्त्रs and ब्राह्मणs.) The former, however, derive their authority only from स्मृति or immemorial tradition. The गृह्यसूत्रs deal with ceremonies performed by the married householders, chiefly for the benefit of the family; whereas the सामयाचारिकसूत्रs deal with rules to be observed by the rising generation regulating the various relations of everyday life. It is these, also called as धर्मसूत्रs in which are to be discovered the originals of the later metrical law-codes such as the मनुस्मृति, याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति and others. Of the गृह्यसूत्रs there may be mentioned here, the पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र (belonging to the माध्यंदिन शाखा of the यजुर्वेद), the गोभिल गृह्यसूत्र (belonging to the सामवेद) and the आश्वलायन and शाङ्खायन गृह्यसूत्र (belonging to the ऋग्वेद.) The आश्वलायन गृह्यसूत्र consists of four अध्यायs, being sub-divided into 24, 10, 12, and 2 sections respectively. The topics dealt with are: पाकयज्ञ the sacrificial ceremony which is intended to impart

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1. Max Muller, *op. cit.* p. 186. f.

to a man an aptitude without which he would be excluded from the sacrifices, and from all the benefits of his devotion; बलिहरण, offering oblations to Gods; चौलकर्म the ceremony of cutting the hair of the child ; उपनयन the ceremony of investing him as a student and handing him over to a गुरु, under whose care he is to study the scriptures and to perform all the offices of a ब्रह्मचारिन् or a religious student ; समावर्तन, returning from the गुरु's house, after having served his apprenticeship and grown up to manhood; विवाह, marriage and other ceremonies relating to the life of a house-holder, domestic rites in which certainly there is more of human interest than in the great sacrifices described in the श्रौतसूत्रs. The offerings themselves are generally of a simple nature and the ceremonial does not require the assistance of a large number of professional priests. A log of wood placed on the fire of the hearth, an oblation poured out to the gods or alms given to the ब्राह्मणs ; this is what constitutes a पाकयज्ञ.[1] In all this गृह्य ritual is disclosed that deep-rooted tendency in the heart of man to bring the chief events of human life in connection with a higher power, and to give to our joys and sufferings a deeper significance and a religious sanctification.

The last वेदाङ्ग to be noticed is ज्योतिष or astronomy, which it represented by one little tract, the object of which is not to teach astronomy, but to convey such knowledge of the heavenly bodies as is necessary for fixing the day and hours of the Vedic sacrifices. In ब्राह्मणs and आरण्यकs, we find frequent allusions to astronomical subjects, and even in the hymns we find traces which indicate a certain advance in the observation of the moon. as the measurer of time : the Intercalary month is referred to in the Rigveda (I.25.8.)

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[1] The several kinds of spiritual or metaphorical यज्ञs described in अ० IV of भ० गी० may be noticed in this connection,

In conclusion I wish to draw your attention to some miscellaneous works of less importance belonging to this period, which scarcely deserve the name of literature. Such, for instance, are the अनुक्रमणीs or systematic indices to various portions of the anciet Vedic literatuɹe. Amongst these the most important is the सर्वानक्रमणी of the Rigveda, by कात्यायन. It gives the first words of each hymn, the number of verses, the name and family of the poets, the names of the deities, and the metres of every verse. षड्गुरुशिष्य tells us in his वेदार्थदीपिका, a commentary of this सर्वानुक्रमणी, that before कात्यायन there existed one index of the poets, one of the metres, one of the deities, one of the अनुवाक्s (the old chapters af the Rigveda), and one of the hymns. and that these indices were composed by शौनक to whom the well-known work बृहद्देवता is also ascribed. For the यजुर्वेद, there are three अनुक्रमणीs one for the आत्रेयी शाखा of तैत्तरीयs, the other for the शाखा of the चारायणीय and the third for the माध्यंदिन शाखा of the वाजसनेयिन्. For the सामवेद the oldest अनुक्रमणी is the आर्षेय ब्राह्मण, other existing अनूक्रमणीs being much later. For the अथर्ववेद there is one बृहत्सर्वानुक्रमणी.

Besides these अनुकमणीs there is a class of works called the परिशिष्ट (appendices), which deserve a mention in passing. One of them is the चरणव्यूह ascribed to शौनक, a treatise on the various schools into which the Vedas had branched off, briefly narrating the traditions relating thereto.

The style of the परिशिष्टs is less concise than that of the सूत्रs. The simple अनुष्टुभ् श्लोक preponderates. Still the परिशिष्टs have not yet fallen into that monotonous uniformity, which we find in works like the मानवधर्मसूत्र or the later पुराणs. They therefore, may be considered the very last offshoots of Vedic literature, but they are Vedic in their character and they must be supposed to have originated at the expiring moments of the Vedic ages. Their object is to supply information on the theological or ceremonial points which had been passed over in the सूत्रs, most likely because they were not deemed of sufficient importance, or because they were supposed to be well-known to those more immediately concerned The perfunctory and superficial treatment of the subject matter in these works bears witness to incipient intellectual and literary degeneracy.

LECTURE III

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE RIGVEDA.

Rigveda is not a book—but it is a compilation—its unique character—Principles of arrangement— अष्टक, अध्याय and वर्ग-मण्डल, अनुवाक and सूक्त-ऋषि, देवता and छन्दस्—The internal arrangement of the several मण्डलS—The बालखिल्य hymns—The आप्री hymns—Earlier and later ऋषिS—The criteria for distinguishing between older and later hymns—grammatical forms—vocabulary, peculiarities of संधि—Metre—Rigveda hymns found in अथर्ववेद—Criterion of ideas.

In the course of the last lecture I tried to give you a general idea of the Vedic literature, including both the Veda proper and works related thereto. In this lecture I propose to deal with one book in particular and that is the संहिता of the ऋग्वेद. Here, however, in the beginning, I have to warn you that when we call the Rigveda a book, we must not understand the statement literally. If a book means a work written by one man, implying unity of time and ideas, well, the Rigveda is far from being a book. It is rather a compilation composed of several books which can be individually distinguished from each other. The form in which the संहिता of the ऋग्वेद has come down to us clearly shows that the different hymns were composed long before they were brought together and systematically arranged. That the different portions of the संहिता represent chronologically different stages, follows from various indications of language, vocabulary, style, grammar, metre, and lastly ideas. As I said in my last lecture the Rigveda stands by itself, in point of language and thoughts, apart from other works belonging to the Vedic canon. There is something which characterizes the Rigveda and stamps it with an individuality of its own In spite of this unity, however, there is a variety or plurality in the Rigveda itself. This most important fact every student of the Rigveda must bear in mind. Though the Rigveda is much more natural in character than other संहिताs and is not purely liturgical like others, still there are distinct traces of a deliberate arrangement and the influence of priests, which would be made clear, when we consider the divisions into which the संहिता is divided.

There are two ways of dividing the contents of the Rigveda, one into अष्टकs, अध्यायs and वर्गs and the other into मण्डलs, अनुवाकs and सूक्तs. Of these, the former is unimportant since mere convenience of study is at its root. The Rigveda is divided into eight अष्टकs, each अष्टक consists of eight अध्यायs, and each अध्याय, consists of several वर्गs, a वर्ग being usually made up of five ऋक्s or verses, sometimes more and sometimes less. This is the division popular with the वैदिकs with whom a वर्ग is the measure of a lesson. This division is purely mechanical and comparatively modern.

The second division, however. though no doubt also mechanical in character, has some scientific historical principles to support it That it is very old follows from the fact that it was known even to the ब्राह्मणs. There are ten मण्डलs. The first मण्डल contains twenty-four अनुवाकs (sections); the second, four ; the third and fourth, five each ; the fifth, sixth and seventh, six each ; the eighth, ten; the ninth seven; and the tenth, twelve अनुवाकs. Each अनुवाक consists of a nnmber of सूक्त s (hymns). and each सूक्त is made up of a number of verses. In order to understand the principle of arrangement which underlies this division, it is necessary to remember that every सूक्त has a ऋषि, देवता and छन्दस् (a seer, a deity and a metre), without whose knowledge the meaning of the hymn cannot be properly understood nor can the hymn be efficiently applied:

अविदित्वा ऋषिं छन्दो दैवतं योगमेव च ।
योऽध्यापयेज्जपेद्वापि पापीयाञ्जायते तु सः ॥

What these ऋषि, देवता and छन्दस् mean is briefly stated by कात्यायन in the beginning of his सर्वानुक्रमणी.

यस्य वाक्यं स ऋषिः । या तेनोच्यते सा देवता । यदक्षरपरिमाणं तच्छन्दः । अर्थेप्सव ऋषयो देवताश्छन्दोभिरुपाधावन् ॥

About the देवताs and छन्दस्s I shall speak more fully in subsequent lectures. As for the ऋषिs, I have told you already that they are not, from the orthodox point of view, regarded as composers or writers but as seers, as सायण remarks in his commentary on the very first verse of the Rigveda:

अतीन्द्रियस्य वेदस्य परमेश्वरानुग्रहेण प्रथमतो दर्शनाद् ऋषित्वम् ॥

Now coming back to our ten मण्डलs, we notice that मण्डलs II to VII are homogeneous in character and arrangement, while I, VIII, IX, and X have different principles underlying them. The मण्डलs from II to VII are each ascribed to one ऋषि or one family of ऋषिs. Thus the ऋषिs of these मण्डलs are गृत्समद, विश्वामित्र, वामदेव, अत्रि, भरद्वाज and वसिष्ठ respectively or their descendants. Not only does the existence of a common seer characterize these मण्डलs, but there are definite principles underlying even the sequence of the hymns in each मण्डल itself. Thus as a rule, the first group of hymns in each

मण्डल is addressed to अग्नि, the second to इन्द्र, and the rest to miscellaneous deities. Further the arrangement of the hymns in each of the groups proceeds on the principle that every following hymn has a less number of verses than the preceding one, with only a very few exceptions about whose character there prevails a doubt. As an example of this diminishing order of verses, we may examine the seventh मण्डल:

	Hymns following the law	Exceptions
अग्नि group	1-14	15-17
इन्द्र	18-30	31-33
विश्वेदेवाs	34-54	55
मरुत्s	56-58	59
सूर्य, मरुत्s and वरुण	60-65	66
अश्विन्	67-73	74
उषस्	75-80	81

Thus it may be seen that all violations of the law of the diminishing number of verses occur at the end of a group. The explanation probably is that the very short hymns which stand at the end of each group, were at sometime through whim or misunderstanding combined. So also if allowance is made for later additions, it may be seen that these Books II to VII form a series of collections which contain a successively increasing number of hymns.

No such definite principle of arrangement can be discovered with regard to the eighth Book, though the कण्व family predominates amongst its ऋषिs.

The ninth मण्डल has a peculiarity of its own as far as the arrangement is concerned. All the hymns in this मण्डल

are, without exception, addressed to one deity and that is the पवमान सोम, the clearly flowing सोम. The hymns are composed by the same ऋषिs as those of books II to VII. Thus it seems probable that all the सोम hymns of the ऋषिs of books II to VII were taken out and collected together into one separate book, and at the same time arranged with regard to the metre. Thus we see that hymns 1–67 are in गायत्री metre, 68–86 in जगति, 87–97 in त्रिष्टुभ and the rest (98–144) in miscellaneous metres,

मण्डलs I and X form the youngest portions of the Rigveda. Of these, मण्डल 1 contains 14 groups, each ascribed to one common ऋषि and having hymns arranged according to the deities, that is they are arranged on the same principles as in Books II to VII. Thus, to take an instance, the first group of मण्डल I is made up of 11 hymns, all ascribed to वैश्वामित्र मधुच्छन्दस्, of which hymn 1 is addressed to अग्नि, 2 to वायु, 3 to अश्विन्s and इन्द्र and the rest to इन्द्र.

It should seem, therefore, that these shorter collections forming Book I were later prefixed, as it were, to the family Books (viz. Books II to VII), which latter must have served as the model for the internal arrangement of the former.

The tenth मण्डल is indeed an aggregate of supplementary hymns, clearly showing their familiarity with the first nine Books. The only principle which connects the different hymns of the मण्डल is numerical. In this मण्डल, we find a series of collections arranged in the descending order of the number of hymns in each, and extending from hymn 1 to 84. From hymn 85 to 191 we find single hymns arranged in the descending order of the number of stanzas contained in each.

From all this it appears that मण्डलs II to VII generally formed the oldest portion, the nucleus, as it were, to which मण्डल I was prefixed and मण्डलs VIII, IX and X were affixed. That even the ancient Brahmins looked upon the Rigveda as made up of three portons follows from the fact that the ऋषिs were divided broadly into three divisions; 1st शतर्चिन: (i. e. the ऋषिs of the first मण्डल each of whom seems to have contributed nearly 100 verses ', 2ndly माध्यमा : (i. e. the middle ones, referring to the ऋषिs of II to VII), and 3rdly क्षुद्रसूक्ता: and महासूक्ता: (i.e. ऋषिs of shorter and longer hymns.)[1]

We have also to notice here a group of eleven hymns known by the name of वालखिल्य, which stands by itself and which is generally put at the end of the eighth मण्डल.[2] They are not recognised by older writers, nor reckoned in the division of मण्डलs and अनुवाकs nor commented on by सायण, though mentioned in कात्यायन's सर्वानुक्रमणी. That these do not naturally belong to the place where they are found is quite clear. The earliest interpretation of the name वालखिल्य is found in तैत्तिरीयारण्यक. I. 23:

स तपोऽतप्यत । स तपस्तप्त्वा शरीरमधूनुत । तस्य यन्मांसमासीत्ततोऽरुणाः केतवो वातरशना ऋषय उदतिष्ठन् । ये नखास्ते वैखानसाः । ये वालास्ते वालखिल्याः ।

The fact that these disturb the regularity of both the मण्डल and अष्टक divisions shows that they were later additions.

I have also to notice here the आप्री hymns which are peculiar in character. They resemble the hymns which we find in the साम and यजुर्वेद, being evidently composed for sacrificial purposes. There are ten of these scattered about in the ten मण्डलs. They generally contain eleven verses each, addressed to eleven separate deities in the following order: verse 1 to अग्नि; 2 to तनूनपात् or नराशंस (two other aspects of अग्नि); 3 to इळा (gifts); 4 to बर्हि: (sacrificial pile of grass): 5 to देवी: द्वार:; 6 to उषसानक्तौ; 7 to दैव्यौ होतारौ (i. e. अग्नि and आदित्य etc.); 8 to सरस्वती, इळा and भारती; 9 to त्वष्टृ (the creator); 10 to वनस्पति (the tree of the sacrifice); and 11 to स्वाहाकृति. The position of these artificial hymns necessarily presupposes a deliberate arrangement on the part of the collectors.

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[1] Cf. आश्वलायन-गृह्य-सूत्र, III. 4.—अथ ऋषय: शतर्चिनो माध्यमा गृत्समदो विश्वामित्रो वामदेवोऽत्रिर्भरद्वाजा वसिष्ठ: प्रगाथा: पावमान्या: क्षुद्रसूक्ता महासूक्ता इति.

[2] They are printed as hymns no. 49—59 of Mandala VIII in Max Muller's edition of the Rigveda—V. S. S.

You know that the text of the Rigveda is found in two forms, संहिता and पदपाठ. In the latter the words or पदs are separately shown; whereas in the former, they are combined by the rules of संधि. Now we find that six verses in the Rigveda (VII. 59. 12; X. 20. 1; X. 121. 10; X. 190. 1-3) are not found analysed in the Pada-text, but only given there over again in the संहिता form. This shows that these verses were not acknowledged as truly Rigvedic, a view justified by internal evidence.

In the hymns themselves, we have indications of the earlier and later generations of ऋषिs, and also of earlier and later hymns. Here I shall content myself with giving references from the seventh मण्डल only.

VII. 18. 1. त्वे ह यत्पितरश्चिन्न इन्द्र विश्वा वामा जरितारो असन्वन् :
VII. 22.9. ये च पूर्वे ऋषयः ये च नूत्नाः इन्द्र ब्रह्माणि जनयन्त विप्राः।
VII. 29. 4. उतो घा ते पुरुष्या इदासन् येषां पूर्वेषामशृणोर्ऋषीणाम्।
VII. 53. 1. ते चिद्धि पूर्वे कवयो गृणन्तः।
VII. 76.4. त इद् देवानां सधमाद आसन् ऋतावानः कवयः पूर्व्यासः।

VII. 91. 4. पुरा देवा अनवद्यास आसन् ।

In all these passages old and new ऋषिs are spoken of:

VII. 56. 23. भूरि चक्र मरुतः पित्र्याणि उक्थानि ।
VII .15. 4. नवं तु स्तोममग्नये दिवः श्येनाय जीजनम् ।
VII. 59. 4. आभि व आवर्त् सुमतिर्नवीयसी ।
VII. 61. 6. प्र वां मन्मानि ऋचसे नवानि कृतानि ब्रह्म जुजुषन् इमानि ।
VII. 93. 1. शुचिं नु स्तोमं नवजातमद्य इन्द्राग्नी वृत्रहणा जुषेथाम् ।

In these passages, old and new songs or prayers are spoken of. From these allusions, it is quite evident that the hymns of the Rigveda were composed by different generations of sages, and that the composition extended over a long period of time.

When we have once admitted the fact that the ten मण्डलs of the Rigveda have gathered up the work of many periods and that the original composition of the hymns was probably the work of several centuries, then we can discover several criteria by which to distinguish earlier from later hymns. I shall here briefly notice only some of them.[1]

First is the criterion of grammar and language. It has been found by a searching scrutiny of the particular grammatical forms in the Veda that certain forms are more frequently found in earlier hymns. Here follow some examples :

1. From nouns in अ, the inst, sing. mas. or neut. ending in आ *e. g.* यज्ञा I. 168.1a, हिमा X, 37.10b, उक्था IV, 32.10 a, and so on.

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[1] Contrast Keith, *Combridge History of India* vol. I. p. 78: "The results produced by the most elaborate and systematic attempts to apply the methods of the higher criticism to the Rigveda have hitherto failed to meet with general acceptance." —V. S. S.

2. Old declensional forms from radical stems in आ; *e. g.* धियंधे, शुचिपे, कुष्टिप्र:, जास्पत्या, and so on.

3. The inst. sing. in ई : *e. g.* अचित्ती, अप्रभूती, ऊती, प्रभूती शमी, श्रुष्टी, हस्तच्युती, and so on.

4. The neut. plural in ऊ; *e. g.* उरू, त्रिधातू, वसू, वीळू, सुहन्तू, and so on.

5. The vocatives in व: and म: from stems in वन्त् and मन्त्: *e. g.* अद्रिव:, सहस्व:, स्वधाव:, हरिव:, हविष्म:, and so on.

6. The forms मह्य, तुभ्य, अस्मभ्य, sometimes found in the text in संधि combination, to be restored in accordance with the metre; *e. g.* VII. 29. 1 a तुभ्य (required by the metre); VII. 32. 21 c; VII. 90. 2 b; अस्मभ्य VII 74. 5 d; VII. 78. I d; VII. 79. 4 a; VII. 81. 6 b.

7. Unaugmented forms of historical tenses; *e. g.* तक्षत्, दुद्रवत्, प्रांथिष्ट, भरत्, भुवत्, etc.

8. All forms of the perf. subj. act.; *e. g.* चिकित:, जुजोष:, ततन:, दीदय:, दधर्षत्, मामह:, मुमुच:, etc.

9. Perf. part. without reduplication (except विद्वांस्); *e. g.* खिद्वांस्, दाश्वांस्, मीळ्हवांस् and साह्वांस्.

10. Forms of the 2nd per. dual and plural of the Root-aorist. having strong stems *e. g.* कर्तम्, कर्त, कर्तन, गन्तम्, धात, धातन.

11. The aorist imperative forms in सि: *e.g.* कर्षि, जेषि दार्शि, धाक्षि, नेषि, भक्षि, यक्षि, वक्षि, etc.

12. The aorist imperative form बोधि, whether from बुध् or भू.

13. The middle participle in सान from the स् aorist; *e.g.* अचसान, ऋञ्जसान, मन्दसान, सहसान.

14. The infinitives in तये; *e. g.* इष्टये, हव्यदातये, पीतये, वीतये, सातये.

15. The infinitives in ध्यै, in वने (*e. g.* दावने, etc.), in से or असे (*e. g.* अर्चसे, ऋचसे, ऋञ्जसे).

16. The pronoun स्य, त्य.

The following words are characteristic of the earlier portion of the Rigveda :

अक्तु 'beam'; अत्य 'swift'; अभिष्टि 'help'; अवस् and its derivatives like अवस्यु, etc.; ऋजीषिन् 'direct'; क्षिति 'dwelling'; चन: 'delight' and चनस्य, चनिष्ठ, etc.; चर्षणि 'mortal'; compounds ending with चन्द्र (*e.g.* अश्वचन्द्र, पुरुचन्द्र, etc.); the verb and adj. तुज्; compounds ending in तुर् 'conquering' (*e. g.* वृत्रतुर्, सुप्रतुर etc); compounds beginning with तुवि, (*e. g.* तुविजात, तुविदेष्ण etc.) दंस् 'to excel' and its derivatives दंसन, दंस:, दंसिष्ठ, पुरुदंसस, सुदंसस्, दस्म, दस्र, etc.; मन्मन् 'thought', वाज 'prize', विप्र 'a poet'; श्रव: 'glory'.

On the other hand words connected with disease, magic and popular belief, as also technical terms, chiefly of ritual and philosophy, are characteristic of the later parts of the Rigveda which are allied to the अथर्ववेद.

Certain peculiarities of संधि also may be pointed out as characteristic of the earlier parts of the Rigveda. Thus we find that as a rule final अ and आ are combined with an initial vowel or diphthong following; and final इ, ई, उ, ऊ are regularly combined with similar vowels. But before dissimilar vowels they are regularly used with hiatus, except perhaps in the case of dissyllabic prepositions followed by the augmented tenses of the verbs to which they belong.

So also words ending in अस्, ए, ओ lose their final element, before an initial vowel following, and are therefore all alike treated as ending in अ with hiatus; and similarly words ending in ऐ and औ are treated as ending in आ. But duals both of nouns and of verbs ending in ए are unaltered.

According to the rules of classical Sanskrit, final अस् becomes ओ and final ए is unaltered, if the next word begins with अ, but the intial अ is lost. This संधि is comparatively rare in the Rigveda proper or its earlier part, but is very common in the later portions. We find on the whole that a hiatus is more common than the combinations, though we have instances where संधि takes place in position in which it never takes place in classical Sanskrit, e. g. in the case of duals ending in आ, ई and ऊ especially when followed by इव.

Secondly, we have the criterion of metre. The matres which are combinations of eight-syallabled and eleven or twelve-syllabled feet like उष्णिह्, ककुभ्, बृहती, सतोबृहती and अत्यष्टि, which are practically unknown in later literature may be presumed to belong to the more distinctively early parts of the Rigveda. The Vedic अनुष्टुभ् can be also easily distinguished from the later or epic अनुष्टुभ्. Here I give two verses representing the two kinds of अनुष्टुभ्.

Vedic अनुष्टुभ्

तुअं वलस्य गोमत अपावरद्रिवो बिलम् ।
तुअं देवा अबिभ्युषः तुज्यमानास आविषुः ॥ I. 11. 5

Epic अनुष्टुभ्

वायुरस्मा उपामन्थत् पिनष्टि स्मा कुनन्नम् ।
केशी विषस्य पात्रेण यद् रुद्रेणापिबत् सह ॥ X.136.7

which, as you see, is very similar to the अनुष्टुभ of the महाभारत and the रामायण.

Another criterion is the occurrence of a Rigveda hymn in the अथर्ववेद. If a complete hymn or a fragment or even any part of it beyond one stanza is repeated in the अथर्ववेद, it is a strong indication of the later character of that hymn: cf for instance VII. 55. 5–8; VI. I 59.12.

There is last of all the criterion of subject matter. Broadly speaking the Rigveda hymns may be divided into two classes, religious and secular. The great majority of hymns are invocations and adorations of the gods therein addressed, whose essence is a simple outpouring of the heart, a prayer to the eternals, an invitation to them to accept favourably the gift reverently consecrated.

On the other hand there are hymns containing references to the details of ritual, the particular kinds of priests and their functions, which show a general tendency to deify everything connected with sacrifice. Such hymns clearly mark a later stage as compared with the hymns described in the last paragraph. Briefly speaking hymns belonging to the earlier parts of Rigveda are prevailingly characterized by the following ideas: the kindling of the sacred fire before dawn as if to ensure the return of daylight and the preparation of the sacred drink and poetic inspiration; अग्नि and इन्द्र are the principal deities, the former is the homely priest and the messenger between men and gods; the latter is the physical god, warlike in spirit, who broke asunder the clouds and brought down rain.

On the other hand, the idea of addressing विश्वेदेवाः marks a later stage; likewise the deification of prayer, of the doors of the sacrificial chamber, of the कुश grass and so on.

So also दानस्तुतिs (or hymns in praise of the liberal donations from patrons and princes to priests) necessarily presuppose a fully elaborated ritual and the establishment of the practice of having hired priests to whom fees were paid. Further hymns which are philosophical in character, asking such questions as whence we come, who we are, where we go, are distinctly later in character and mark the period of transition from the मन्त्रs to the ब्राह्मणs; likewise poetic riddles and satirical hymns belong to the later period. Hymns containing references to magic and exorcism and charms, which are distinctly allied to the contents of the Atharvaveda as also didactic hymns belong to a later period. In a word, all those passages which record for us, as it were, the first distinctively Indian efforts to lay the foundations of philosophy, astrology and magic are to be looked upon as later in character.

The Rigveda is full of myths; but they are boldly related in the early hymns of the Rigveda, generally in single stanzas; as for instance, the warlike deeds of इन्द्र and the resources and cures of the अश्विन्s. But in the later hymns of the Rigveda, the myths appear in a dramatic form, and the theme is not historical but social. The dialogue;[1] between पुरूरवस and उर्वशी (X 95), the tale of अगस्त्य and लोपामुद्रा

[1] These dialogue hymns (variously called आख्यान, संवाद or इतिहास hymns) are regarded by some as the earliest forms of the dramatic literature in India; others regard them as merely ballads, which is a more plausible explanation,—V. S. S.

(I. 179), and the tale of यम and यमी, the parents of the human race (X, 10). may be cited as instances. In such hymns the poets for the first time wrestle with the moral and æsthetic problems accociated with the relationship of man to woman. Mysogynic ideas, which so conspicuously prevail in later Sanskrit literature have their germs in these later portions of the Rigveda. So also we have here the germs of the ascetic theories which afterwards became the conspicuous features of Brahmanism and Buddhism.

LECTURE IV

HISTORY OF VEDIC STUDIES
MODERN PERIOD

The advance of oriental studies—the Asiatic Society of Bengal—Colebrooke—Friedrich Rosen—Roth, the founder of modern Vedic studies—St. Petersburg Lexicon—Weber—Max Muller—His sympathetic and liberalising spirit—*Ancient Sanskrit Literature*—Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*—Haug's ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण—Translations of the Rigveda—Wilson, Grassmann and Ludwig—Kaegi's Rigveda—Vedische Studien by Pischel and Geldner—Whitney's Grammar—Oldenberg's notes on Rigveda—Concordance and Index—Pandit's वेदार्थयत्न—Mr. Tilak's two books—श्रुतिबोध.

In the course of the last two lectures. I tried to give you a general idea of the literature known as the Veda and of the Rigveda in particular. Now I shall proceed to speak on the method of studying the Rigveda and on the principles which should guide that study. But before doing that I believe it would be useful, for you to know what has been done in the field of the study of the Rigveda by modern scholars as well as by the ancients. Nay, it is even necessary for a student of the Rigveda to know, for without a knowledge of the work done in this direction he cannot confidently and critically proceed with the study.

It was about the middle of the eighteenth century that the great French writer Voltaire, in the *Essai sur les Mers et l'E sport des Nations* highly praised the ancient wisdom of the Brahmanas which he discovered in the Ezour Veidam, which was afterwards proved to be a forgery by some missionary of the name of Robertus de Nobilis. It was not till the year 1784 that the study of ancient Indian learning was based on a firm foundation, the year when the Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded. The following year saw a translation of the मगवद्गीता by Wilkins. The year 1805 however, marked an epoch in the course of Vedic studies, when Colebrooke contributed to the *Asiatic Researches* his paper "On the Vedas, the sacred writings of the Hindus". The paper is a lengthly survey of the whole of the Vedic literature extending over more than a hundred quarto pages, which may be read with advantage even to-day. It is of interest to read the conclusion of his essay, especially in the light of the present day condition of Vedic studies. "The preceding description," says he, "may serve to convey some notion of the Vedas. They are too voluminous for a complete translation of the whole ; and what they contain would hardly reward the labour of the reader, much less that of the translator. The ancient dialect in which they are composed and especially that of the three first Vedas, is extremely difficult and obscure and, though curious, as the parent of a more polished and refined language (the classical Sanskrit), its difficulties must long continue to prevent such an examination of the whole Vedas, as would be requisite for extracting all that is remarkable and important in these voluminous works. But they well deserve to be occasionally consulted by the oriental scholars."[1] How far this judgment is justified, I leave to you to judge. I have specially to recommend Colebrooke's instance to you, young students of the Rigveda, because this scholar had at first a strong disgust for oriental learning, of which he wss cured by no other antidote than the study itself of that learning. Do remember, my young friends, that he who once styled Wilkins the translator of भगवद्गीता "Sanskrit-mad" and the *Asiatic Miscellany* "a repository of nonsense". and the Institutes of Akbar "a dung-hill in which, perhaps, a pearl or two might be found," became afterwards a zealous orientalist, the first to light the torch of Vedic studies.

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[1] Colebrooke's *Essays* Vol. 1, p, 113

About twenty years later, a German scholar Friedrich Rosen recognized the true worth of this Vedic literature in the rich collection of Vedic MSS, mostly made available through the efforts of Colebrooke. He undertook with zeal the editing of the oldest work, viz. the Rigveda. but died in 1837. before the first eighth was published, as "Rigveda Samhita, liber primus, Sanskrite et latine" (1838).

It was in the year 1846 that a real, enduring impulse was given to the study of Veda, when the small but epochmaking work by Rudolph Roth, *Zur Lītteratur und Geschichte des Veda* was published. "It inaugurated a movement which since then has irresistibly led all Sanskritists to the Veda." Roth occupies a unique position in the history of the Vedic studies. He gave an absolutely new turn to its course and is regarded as the founder of the inductive and historical method in that domain. The St. Petersburg Sanskrit-German Lexicon in seven volumes marks an era, and amply testifies to the indefatigable zeal and industry of *Roth* and *Bōhtlingk*. In this stupendous dictionary every word is traced from the oldest to the latest

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1 Kaegi, *The Rigveda.*, Engl, Trans, p, 2,

work of literature, from the Rigveda down to classical literature. All the passages where a word occurs have been brought together and thence by comparison its meaning is fixed. In this dictionary we can, as it were, see the history of every word from the period when the Aryans first settled themselves in the land of the seven rivers to the period which saw the bloom of the most elaborate and artificial (classical) literature. Almost all works then available have been drawn upon. The Vedic part was worked up by Roth, and the post-Vedic worked by Bohtlingk.

Next came A. Weber, another great German orientalist who gave a detailed and valuable survey of the Vedic books in his *Academische Vorlesungen uber Indische Litteratur, geschichte* (1852). His *Indische Studien* is a remarkable repository of oriental research in all its branches, Veda, philosophy, grammar, lexicography and so on ; and though the conclusions at which he arrived may be sometimes wrong, still tthe work done and the author's versatility cannot but fill us with wonder and admiration.

From Weber we pass to another great scholar, the greatest in the field of oriental learning of our time, I mean, Max Müller. A versatile author, he has written on almost all the branches of the oriental study. Vedic exegesis, comparafive philology, comparative mythology, philosophy, grammar and so on. " The Hindus " says Prof. Bloomfield,[1] "called him MokshaMulara, during his latter days. It happens that मोक्ष is the Sanskrit word for 'Salvation' and मूल means 'root.' To the Hindus his name means 'Root-of-Salvation,' or as we might say, with a different turn. 'Salvation Muller.'

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[1] Bloomfield, *Religion of the Veda*, p, 54.

I do not imagine that Muller believed in the Hindu salvation, which is release from the chain of lives and deaths in the course of transmigration. But if freedom of mind partakes of the flavour of Salvation, ' Salvation Müller ' he was. Max Muller's eminence as a scholar and writer is well-known to you ; less generally well understood, perhaps, is the liberalising quality of his thought, which he exercised untiringly during more than half a century. Among Europeans he was pre-eminent for the spirit of sympathy and fairness which he brought to the study and criticism of Hindu religious thought."

The *editio princeps* of the Rigveda संहिता, the oldest and the most highly valued work of the Hindus, with the commentary of सायण was edited in England by this German Professor, This edition of the Rigveda placed Vedic studies on a firm foundation, and since its appearance, they have progressed with wonderful rapidity. Max Muller's *Ancient Sanskrit Literature* is anothor monumental work, which contains a detailed survey of the Vedic literature, and is an authority even to this day, notwithstanding the ma ss of New information brouhgt to hand since then. Of course we may not agree with the learned scholar in all his conclusions, as for instance, his estimate of the contents of the Rigveda and its age; still the book has rendered valuable service to the cause of Vedic studies by the detailed information it gives in a systematic and interesting manner. Towards the interpretation of the Rigveda text also. Max Muller has made many contributions.

Next is to be mentioned the *Original Sanskrit Texts* edited by Muir in five volumes. Nothing can surpass the industry and grasp of this scholar, and the wide range of literature which he draws upon. The Sanskrit student will find therein all important passages, with their translation into English, from the Rigveda down to the पुराणs and epics, bearing on any particular idea, followed by the views of different eminent scholars on the same. To quote the author's own words.[1] " In treating the several topics... I propose in each case to adduce first any texts bearing upon it, which may be found in the hymns of the Rigveda; next, those in the Brāhmaṇas and their appendages,and lastly,those occurring in any of the different classes of works coming under the designation of Smṛiti.[2] By this means we shall learn what conceptions or opinions were entertained on each subject by the oldest Indian authors, and what were the various modifications to which these ideas were subjected by their successors." The topics treated are numerous and varied ; e. g. the origin of the four castes, the mutual relation of ब्राह्मणs and क्षत्रियs, affinities of the Indians with the Persians, Greeks and Romans, the origin and authority of the Vedas, Indian mythology, society and life in the Vedic age, and so on. I have no hesitation in recommending these volumes strongly to every student of the Rigveda, especially as they illustrate the method of collecting facts, critically reviewing them and drawing sound conclusions from thom.

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1. Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*. Vol. 1. p, 6.

2. The स्मृति, according to Muir, includes (1) the वेदाङ्गs such as the निरुक्त, (2) the श्रौत and गृह्य सूत्रs (3) the institutes of मनु (4) the इतिहास and पुराण.

Haug's edition of ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण deserves a mention here, especially on account of the learned and informing introduction affixed to it, though his view that यजुर्वेद must be older in character than the Rigveda has failed to meet with general acceptance.

Here is the place to mention the several translations of the Rigveda. The oldest is that by Wilson. This scholar was of opinion that the sacred books of the Hindus could be best interpreted by one who has imbibed the Indian spirit; that Indian commentators were best qualified for the task and that a foreigner, notwithstanding his impartiality and desire to know the truth, is very likely to carry his own prejudices into his work, which may be opposed to the spirit of the original. Thus he thought that in the absence of any better Indian commentary, सायण's commentary on the Rigveda was the best interpretation, more correct than any coming from a European scholar. Hence he translated the hymns of the Rigveda just as they were interpreted by सायण. Thus the translation though useful in its own way, especially for the understanding of सायण where he is obscure or ambiguous. has lost much of its authority in the light of the later researches in the field of Vedic study.

Two German translations of the Rigveda, one by Ludwig and the other Grassmann, deserve to be noticed here, the former being prose and the latter metrical. No doubt many times they propose fanciful interpretations, and they are prone to effect emendations and alterations, which are sometimes not only unnecessary, but absolutely wrong. They proceed on the supposition that Indian interpretations are as a rule bound to be wrong and uncritical, and their impatience to apply the so-called historical and critical method has somtimes landed them into curious blunders. We cannot follow the translations wholesale, though they are clearly pervaded by the spirit of criticism.

Grassmann's Dictionary of the Rigveda[1] published in 1873-75 is a very useful work of reference which every student of the Rigveda should be in possession of. Herein under every word he gives all the passages without exception in the ten books of the Rigveda. where the word occurs, classifying them according to the different stages of meaning which the word in question passes through.

Kaegi's essay on the Rigveda (1880) is a model essay,[2] briefly surveying the contents of the Rigveda. It is written in a very lucid style and the tone throughout is sober and reasonable.

Vedische Studien in three volumes by *Pischel* and *Geldner* are solid contributions to Vedic exegesis. They are the fruit of the long-continued study of the Veda by the authors, and the method of study can be best learnt therefrom. Most of the important words in the Rigveda, whose meaning is obscure or doubtfull or about which scholars differ have been taken up for discussion and traced through not only Vedic passages but also other *allied works*. Some important hymns have been selected for study.. They have been translated and notes on words and syntax have been copiously added. Some interesting legends like that of उर्वशी

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[1], *Worterbueh zum Rigveda* Leipzig, 1873,

[2], *The Rigveda*, English translation by Arrowsmith, Boston, 1886,

and पुरूरवस् have been traced historically. In brief, the book is such as a student of the Rigveda cannot dispense with The authors are sane critics avoiding either extreme, giving due credit to सायण where he is right and fully recognizing the value of his contributions to Vedic interpretation.

Here I may mention also Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar* in which Whitney has attempted to review the language and the grammatical forms historically. In every chapter or department of grammar he mentions the forms which a particular inflection shows in the Rigveda, the ब्राह्मणs and other allied works. Thus, for instance, if you look to the declension of words ending in अ, you will find that immediately below the classical forms, Vedic forms like देवासः,देवेभिः, युगा, etc. are mentioned. The chapters on accent are also very useful. Thus Whitney's grammar serves a purpose which cannot be served by any other book available up to now.

Oldenberg, a great Vedic scholar, has laid the Vedic student under great obligations by his monumental, commentary on the Rigveda.[1] Therein, he takes up for consideration every hymn, and deals with all peculiarities, metrical grammatical, exegetical and so on introducing them as a rule with some general remarks regarding the relation of the hymn to others or any particular traits which may be worth noting. What renders the work so very useful is the copious references it contains to other tretises dealing with the Rigveda, in German, French and English. Thus in brief, in

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[1] Hermann Oldenberg, *Die Hymen des Rigveda* Vol, I, *Metrisch und textgeschiechtliche Prolegomena*. Berlin, 1888,-*Textkritische und exegetische Noten*. Erstes bis seches Buch, Berlin, 1909, Siebentes bis zebntes Buch, Berlin. 1912,

Oldenberg's commentary, we have presented to us in one place, all that has been said on a particular verse of the Rigveda or any particular word of interest therein.

Much more has been done in the shape of papers and contributions, dealing with particular topics connected with the Vedic exegesis, for which you will have to refer to the numbers of the Journals of the German Oriental Society, the American Oriental Society, and the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. I may mention amongst others, Lanman's *Noun Inflection in the Veda*, Arnold's *Vedic Metre* and Bloomfield's American Lectures on the *Religion of the Veda*.

In a new field of study like the Vedic exegesis, much spade work has to be done, without which the progress of those studies would be considerably hampered. Bloomfield's *Concordance to the Rigveda*, the recently published *Vedic Index* by Macdonell and Keith, are works of this character, clearly testifying to the patience and perseverance of European scholars.[1]

Coming over to India, we may mention an attempt to interpret the Rigveda on modern lines by the late S. P. Pandit, who in his वेदार्थयत्न attempted to begin a ratiional interpretation of the text, with translations in Marathi and English, supplemented with notes explanatory and critical. The attempt was very promising, indeed, but scarcely had the Pandit proceeded as far as the third मण्डल when he was suddenly carried away by the hands of death, and the work thus interrupted by Pandit's premature death, has not been taken up by any one.

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[1] To these must now be added the following: Maurice Bloomfield. *Rig-Veda Repetitions* Cambridge (Mass), 1916, (Harvard Oriental series, Nos. 20 and 24,) —V.S.S.

B. G. Tilak's two books *The Orion* and *The Arciic Home in the Vedas* are original contributions of great value to Vedic criticism, characterized as they are by a sobriety of judgment and clearness of intellect. In the former Tilak tries to prove on astronomical grounds that the period of the Rigveda goes back to at least 4000 B. C., and that it is not possible to accept the late date fixed by European scholars. In the latter, he tries to refute the current theory about the original habitat of the Aryans, who he thinks must have been inhabitants of the regions about the north Pole.

In conclusion I may mention श्रुतिबोध which gives translations of the Rigveda in English and the several vernaculars of India. Though it serves a useful purpose by making the contents of our most sacred and ancient book accessible to the masses still to the Vedic student as such, it is of no great value.[1]

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[1] To the above list may be added the following, which have been important contributions to Vedic studies: 1, Arnold, *Historical Vedic Grammar*; 2, Bergaigne, *La religion Vedique*; 3, Delbruck. *Altindische Syntav;* 4, Geldner. *Der Rigveda in Auswahl* (Erster Teil. Gllossar; Zweiter Teil, Kommentar); 5, Hillebrandt. *Vedische Mythologic*, and *Ritulliteratur;* 6, Lassen, *Indische Altertumskunde;* .7 Oldenberg, *Veda forschung* and *Die Religion des Veda;* 8, Schroeder, *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda;* 9. Sieg, *Sagenstoffe des Rigveda;* 10, Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben.*—V. S. S.

LECTURE V

HISTORY OF VEDIC STUDIES

ANCIENT PERIOD

Explanatory passages in the ब्राह्मणS-प्रातिशाख्य-निरुक्त of यास्क-The discussion about the meaninglessness of मन्त्रS—The estimate of यास्क's service--Several explanations of one and the same word or passage-The नैरुक्तS--The ऐतिहासिकS--The याज्ञिकS--The नैदानS-Mere faith without reasoning, not sufficient for interpretation-The work of मीमांसकS—The वेदार्थप्रकाश of सायणाचार्य—The theological bias-no continuity of tradition—occasional misunderstanding of the Vedic spirit—The invaluable service rendered by सायण.

Next we have to consider the work done by the Ancients in the field of Vedic exegesis. If we go over the ब्राह्मणs, which themselves form a part of the sacred cononical works, and bring together all those passages which contain explanations of संहिता texts or derivations of words, we shall have before us a large mass of material, which will prove to be an important contribution to the Vedic interpretation. Even to critical European scholars, such explanatory references found in the ब्राह्मणs have proved of use to determine the meanings of words which are otherwise ambiguous, or unintelligible.

The प्रातिशाख्य works noticed above (in Lecture 2) are also attempts in the same direction, though they relate more to the text and orthography than to the regular interpretation. Works like the सर्वानुक्रमणी of कात्यायन and the बृहद्देवता are important from the point of view of the preservation of the text, only indirectly serving the purpose of Vedic interpretation.

First and foremost as a direct attempt to interpret the Vedic texts. stands the निरुक्त of यास्क, than which no older work of the type is known to-day. Of course, it is to be remembered that even this old work must have been far removed in age and spirit from the period of the संहिताs, as appears from the fact that यास्क often makes a twofold distinction, while explaining the meanings of words. Thus for instance, in the section on निपातs he remarks:

इवेति भाषायाञ्च अन्वध्यायञ्च । अग्निरिवेन्द्र इवेति । नेति प्रतिषेधार्थीयो भाषायाम् । उभयमन्वध्यायम् ।।[1]

Here the distinction of the language of the scriptures or theVedas (including both संहिताs and ब्राह्मणs) and the language of intercourse in vogue at the time, is clearly meant. The language of the day must have differed considerably from the Vedic language, in order to justify the necessity of such references. But the same fact is proved beyond doubt by the discussion regarding the question whether the मन्त्रs are possessed of a meaning or not. On account of its great interest I shall quote it here in full : Now without this work, the meaning of the hymns cannot be understood; but he who does not comprehend their meaning cannot thoroughly know their accentuation and grammatical forms. Therefore, this department of science is the complement of grammar, and an instrument for gaining one's own object."—Then

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1. निरुक्त, 1 4: "इव (has this sense) both in ths common speech and the Vedic dialect: thus 'like Agnī', 'like Indra', etc. The word न has the sense of negation in the common speech, and both (i,e, the sense of negation and comparison) in theVedic dialect,"-VSS,

2. Nirkuta 1, 15, See Sarup, *op. cit.* p, 16 f. for explanatory notes and comments on the above.-V.S.S.

steps forth कौत्स who proceeds to object thus.—" If this निरुक्त or the science of interpretation is intended to make the sense of the मन्त्रs clear it is useless, for the मन्त्रs have no sense. This is established by the following arguments :

(1) The statements (in the hymns and texts) have certain fixed words, and a certain fixed arrangement.

(2) The मन्त्रs are endowed with their forms by the ब्राह्मणs; thus,-" Spread thyself widely out"-उरुप्रथा उरु प्रथस्वौरु ते यज्ञपात: प्रथताम्-वाज॰संहिता I. 22—"and so he spreads"-उरुप्रथस्त्रेति प्रथयाति (शतपथ ब्राह्मण I. 3. 6. 8.).

(3) They prescribe what is impracticable; thus "deliver him, plant" "axe, do not injure him," thus he speaks while striking.

(4) Their contents are self-contradictory; thus "There was but one Rudra, and no second" and again " there are innumerable, thousands of Rudras on earth" so also "Indra, thou hast been born without a foe" and again "Indra vanquished a hundred armies at once."

(5) A person is enjoined to do an act with which he is already acquainted thus "address the hymn to the fire which is being kindled." (Thus is said by the अध्वर्यु priest to the होतृ.)

(6) Again it is said "Aditi is everything." "Aditi is the Sky," "Aditi is the atmosphere."

(7) The signification of the मन्त्रs is indistinct, as in the case of such words. as अम्यक् (I. 16. 93). यादुश्मिन् (V. 44. 8.). जारयायि (VI. 12. 4). काणुका (VIII. 66 4)."

To these objections raised by कौत्स, यास्क replies as follows: " The मन्त्रs have a sense, for their words are the same (as those in the ordinary language). A ब्राह्मण says (ऐतरेय. 1. 4). "what is appropriate in its form, is successful in the sacrifice"; that is to say, when the verse, ऋक् or यजुस्, which is recited, refers to the ceremony which is being performed.

1. As for the argument about the fixity of words and their arrangement, this is the case in ordinary language also. *e. g.* इन्द्राग्नी, पितापुत्रौ.

2. As for the मन्त्रs being endowed with their form by a ब्राह्मण, the ब्राह्मण is a mere repetition of what has been already said in the मन्त्रs.

3. As for the prescribing of something impracticable, it depends on the statements of the scriptures, whether an act is हिंसा or अहिंसा.

4. As for the contents of the मन्त्रs being self-contradictory, the same thing occurs in ordinary language also: thus "this ब्रह्मन् is without a rival" "the King has no enemies."

5. As for the enjoining of something with which a man is already acquainted, people are in the same way saluted by their names. though they already know them; and the मधुपर्क (a dish of curds ghee and honey) is mentioned to those who are well acquainted with the same.

6. As for the statement "Aditi is everything." the same thing is said in common language also: thus—"all fluids or flavours reside in water."

7. As for the indistinct signification, it is not the fault of the post that the blind man does not see it: it is the man's fault. Just as in respect of local usages, men are distin-

guished by superior knowledge, so, too, among those learned men who are skilled in tradition, he who knows most is worthy of approbation."

From this discussion, it is quite evident that in the days of यास्क, the meaning of the मन्त्रs had become obscure: what is more is that such questions as whether the मन्त्रs are meaningless or not were boldly raised and discussed, although कौत्स may be merely a man of straw, used as a device only to teach more impressively, as the commentator दुर्ग understands, or some real ऋषि representing some school like other निरुक्तकारs referred to by यास्क, as European scholars conjecture.[1]

The very fact of the existence of the original निघण्टु on which the निरुक्त is a commentary, points to the conclusion that the sense of many of the Vedic words had been commonly forgotten. For, what occassion was there for compiling vocabularies of Vedic words, if the sense of these words was well known? The same thing is also clear from many passages in यास्क's work, in which he attempts to explain Vedic words by their etymologies (a process often tentative, which would have been unnecessary if their meanings had been perfectly known), or in which he cites the opinions of different classes of interpreters who had preceded him, and who had propounded different explanations.

Whether there was any regular tradition of Vedic interpretation preserved throughout the period which must have elapsed between the मन्त्रs and ब्राह्मणs on the one hand and the निरुक्त on the other hand, it is very difficult to decide in the present condition of Vedic learning. Though the Indian commentators like यास्क may not be regarded as infallible, still they cannot be altogether neglected as the help they render is simply invaluable.

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[1] Sarup, '*op,cit.* Introduction, p.72. gives additional reasons for assuming that Kautsa was a historical entity,–V, S, S,

I quote here Roth's own remarks in this connection : "Vedic interpretation could impose on itself no greater obstruction than to imagine that the Indian commentators were infallible, or that they had inherited traditions which were of any value. Even a superficial examination shows that their plan of interpretation is the very opposite of traditional, that it is in reality, a grammatical and etymological one, which only agrees with the former method in the erroneous system of explaining every verse, every line, every word by itself, without inquiring if the results so obtained harmonize with those derived from other quarters. If the fact that none of the commentators are in possession of anything more than a very simple set of conceptions regarding, *e. g.* the functions of a particular god, or even the entire contents of the hymns which they are continually intruding into their interpretations, be regarded as a proof of their having inherited a tradition, it will at least be admitted that this poverty of ideas is not a thing which we have any reason to covet. In this set of conceptions are included those scholastic ideas which were introduced at an early period, indeed, but not until the hymns had already become the subject of learned study, and the religious views and social circumstances on which they are based had lost all living reality...What is true of Sāyaṇa or any of the other later commentators, applies essentially to Yāska also. He, too, is a learned interpreter who works with the materials which his predecessors had collected but he possesses an incalculable advantage, in point of time over those compilers of detailed and continuous commentaries and belongs to a quite different literary period. viz. to that when Sanskrit was still undergoing a process of natural growth."

I am not prepared to go so far as to assert that थास्क's explanations are altogether without the basis of tradition. Although there are several instances where the derivations proposed appear to be fanciful, still in a large number of cases, यास्क's remarks are followed by इति ह ब्राह्मणम् or इति विज्ञायते, which shows that यास्क had in view some old authority in the form of a ब्राह्मण passage.[1] It is unfortunate that we cannot trace back all such instances to their original, owing to the fact that many a ब्राह्मण has been lost.

What sort of explanations and interpretations are attempted in the निरक्त can be judged from the instances given below. In निरुक्त 11 16, यास्क refers to the opinions of various former schools regarding the meaning of the word वृत्र.

तत्को वृत्रः। मेघ इति नैरुक्ताः। त्वाष्ट्रोऽसुर इत्यैतिहासिकाः। अपां च ज्योतिषश्च मिश्रीभावकर्मणो वर्षकर्म जायते। तत्र उपमार्थेन युद्धवर्णाः भवन्ति। अहिवत्तु खलु मन्त्रवर्णाः ब्राह्मणवादाश्च। विवृद्ध्या शरीरस्य स्रोतांसि निवारयांचकार। तस्मिन्हते प्रसस्यन्दिरे आपः।

"Who was वृत्र? 'A cloud,' say the नैरुक्त (etymologists). 'An Asura, son of त्वष्ट' say the ऐतिहासिक (story-tellers); the fall of rain arises from the mingling of the waters and of lightning. This is figuratively depicted as a conflict. The hymns and ब्राह्मणs describe वृत्र as a serpent: by the expansion of his body, he blocked up the streams. When he was destroyed, the waters flowed forth,"

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[1] The ब्राह्मण quotations in the Nirukta have been collected and identified by Gune, *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume* pp, 43 ff,— V.S.S.

Then again यास्क in Nir. III. 8, alludes to the views of older writers regarding the Vedic word पञ्चजन.

Thus we see that several older interpreters of the Vedas, both classes and individuals, are frequently referred to by यास्क, though, unfortunately, none of their works are available. Of these, the नैरुक्त is the most general name, meaning the old expounders of the Veda, of the same type as यास्क himself, mainly taking their stand on etymological derivation. The ऐतिहासिकs who are generally referred to, while noticing differences in the conceptions of the Vedic gods, are those interpreters who take the euhemeristic view, according to which the gods of mythology were generally deified mortals and their deeds the amplification in imagination of human acts. In addition to exposition of the Veda in the stricter sense, there existed also liturgical interpretations of numerous passages such as we find in the ब्राह्मणs and other kindred treatises, in which it was attempted to bring the letter of the received text into harmony with the existing ceremonial. Such liturgical interpretations are called by यास्क, those of the याज्ञिकs or persons skilled in sacrificial rites. Akin to theirs appears to have been the mode of interpretation adopted by the नैदानs. By this we must probably understand that method of explanation which, differing from the grammatical etymologies, referred the origin of the words and conceptions to occasions which were in a certain sense historical.

I cannot leave this subject without quoting the following passage, in translation, from the 12th section of the 1st परिशिष्ट, which refers to the antiquity of the मन्त्रs and the qualifications necessary for expounding them.

This reflective deduction of the sense of the hymns is effected by the help of sacred tradition and reasoning. The texts are not to be interpreted as isolated, but according to their context. For, a person who is not a ऋषि or a devotee has no intuitive insight into their meaning. We have said before that among those men who are versed in tradition, he who is most learned deserves especial commendation. When the ऋषिs were ascending, men inquired of the gods, 'Who shall be our ऋषिs?' The gods gave them for a ऋषि the science of reasoning, the art of deducing by reflection the sense of the hymns. Therefore, whatever meaning any learned man deduces by reasoning that possesses authority equal to a ऋषि's"

Though this passage belongs to a chapter called परिशिष्ट (or supplement), and is regarded by Roth as the work of some author subsequent to यास्क, still it is sufficient to establish the fact that the ancients distinctly recognized the necessity of reason as a factor in the ascertainment of religious truth or the definition of ceremonial practice or the interpretation of important or obscure scriptural passages. That the ancients had at least an idea of the inductized method of interpretation follows from this: whether they could actually use it in practice or not, is a different question. This passage marks a stage of thought when mere faith was found to be insufficient, a view most emphatically expressed by शकराचार्य afterwards, as opposed, to the सांख्यs.

नैयायिकs whose view is virtually, if not avowedly, founded on reasoning.

पाणिनि's grammar, as noticed already, mainly deals with the classical Sanskrit[1] and treats the Vedic forms as only irregularities. He, too, mentions that the लेट् (subjunctive) was peculiar to the Vedic dialect and that it altogether fell into disuse in later Sanskrit.

शंकराचार्य has written regular commentaries on all the principal उपनिषद्s which, no doubt, belong to the Vedic canon but we are not immediately concerned with them. It is only occasionally that passages from the संहिताs are interpreted by him, in the course of his argumentations, in his great भाष्य.

The पूर्वमीमांसक have made several contributions to the Vedic exegesis ; the very object of the मीमांसा, as Colebrooke says, is the interpretation of the Vedas. "Its purpose," says सोमनाथ in his मयूखमाला, "is to determine the sense of revelation." But the rules and canons which they lay down refer more to the application of the liturgical texts, and the ascertainment of the relative importance of texts when mutually inconsistent. The Vedic interpretation proper, they do not concern themselves with. However, to give you some idea of these rules laid down by the मीमांसकs I may quote here one such canon which is very frequently referred to in Sanskrit works. It runs thus.

श्रुतिलिङ्गवाक्यप्रकरणस्थानसमाख्यानां समवाये पारदौर्बल्यमर्थविप्रकर्षादिति ।[2]

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[1] Recent research favours the view that in the अष्टाध्यायी there is the form laid down for the language spoken in the higher circles of the society of the period.—V. S. S.

[2] Jaimimi Sutra. III, 3,

("Direct mention, a mere indicatory mark, a sentence, context, order or place of mention and etymology, when any of these circumstances referring to the same text lead to inconsistent conclusions, every following circumstance is weaker than every preceding one and thus must yield to it.")

The most direct and the most important contributions, however, to the Vedic exegesis are by the great सायणाचार्य, वेदार्थप्रकाश is a detailed commentary on the Rigveda संहिता which is preceded by a very informing and learned introduction.

सायण was the minister of बुक्कराय, the King of विजयनगर now lying in ruins, near Hampi on the Tungabhadra river, in the Bellary district. बुक्क and हरिहर who succeeded him, were brothers, who threw off the Mahomedan yoke and founded the empire of विजयनगर about the middle of the 14th Century A. D. It was under the patronage of these princes that सायण and his brother माधव, who was looked upon as Guru by the princes, did all their literary work and inaugurated a period of great literary activity. सायण also wrote a commentary on the ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण and आरण्यक, on the तैत्तिरीय संहिता and so on. माधव afterwards called विद्यारण्य स्वामी is the author of the well-known सर्वदर्शनसंग्रह or a compendium of all the philosophical systems, as well as of पञ्चदशी the most popular metrical treatise on शंकरवेदान्त.

In the वेदार्थप्रकाश, the commentary on the Rigveda सायण has paraphrased each and every word in the text, pointing out all grammatical peculiarities, giving etymological derivations of difficult and new words where possible, at the same time explaining the liturgical application of each and every verse. That this commentary of सायण viewed from our standpoint is full of defects cannot be denied.[1] To him, the Rigveda, along with all other so called canonical works called the Veda, was a holy book, a store of wisdom, secular and philosophical, whose authority was not to be questioned. Every word of it was sacred. Naturally he could not entertain the idea of applying the rules of higher criticism to it, which were admissible only in the case of human compositions. And again, the theological point of view swayed very strongly with सायण. The संहिताs mainly dealt with ritual, or at least were meant for application to ritualistic ceremonies, and throughout his work one can easily detect the theological bias. At the beginning of every hymn सायण, before commencing to paraphrase the actual text, first states the name of the sacrifice or the offering to which the hymn or its verses are subservient or at which they are to be recited.

Coming to actual textual explanations, we receive the impression that no living tradition relating to Vedic exegesis there was in the time of सायण. When a word is obscure, he generally proposes more than one explanation, without showing his preference for any one of them. Sometimes he has recourse to curious devices in such cases of difficulty, *e. g.* giving one case form the meaning of another, or connecting a verb with a subject without agreement in point of person or number. धातूनामनेकार्थत्व (or the doctrine that a root can have more than one meaning) is brought in by him to serve his purpose times without number. Then again सायण sees no objection to explaining words in an isolated manner, without caring to see whether the particular meaning which he assigns to the word in the particular passage holds good in other similar passages where the word occurs in a similar connection. Like यास्क, he depends mainly on etymological derivations, and he has no scruple to take as implied or understood any word or words to complete the meaning of the sentence.

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[1] Compare also Macdonell on "The principles to be followed in translating the Rigveda" in the *Bhandarhar Commemoration Volume*, pp, 6 ff.— V. S. S.

He frequently refers to the सर्वानुक्रमणी, बृहद्देवता, passages from the ब्राह्मणs and आरण्यकs; and as a rule he quotes fully the explanations of यास्क, wherever possible, beginning with the remark अत्र निरुक्तम्. The Vedic myths he explains in the light of later पौराणिक ideas with whose influence, of course, he is strongly imbued. So also, while explaining the occasion of certain hymns, सायण quotes legends which are absolutely incongruous wlth the spirit of the Rigveda. One instance would suffice to show that the meaning of the hymns was altogether forgotten or most completely misunderstood in later times. Of course सायण is not to be held solely responsible for this, as this sort of misunderstanding had commenced even as early as the ब्राह्मणs. In hymn X,121. beginning with हिरण्यगर्भः समवर्तताग्रे, the refrain of every verse is कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम, which literally translated, should mean, "What god should we worship, with an offering or oblation?"—a simple and perfectly natural question. A yearning of the human heart to search after that god who, being the beginning of the world, and the first germ and the shaper of all life, reveals himself all over in nature. He sees lhe divinity in its manifestation now here. now there, now elsewhere, and again he always asks, doubting, seeking and longing. "Who is this god to whom we present our offering?"

Now let us see how सायण has explained the word कस्मै. In the very introduction to the hymn, he remarks कशब्दाभिधेयः प्रजापतिर्देवता. Every hymn, nay, every verse, having reference to a sacrifice, must have a deity. In order to discover a deity where no deity existed, the most extraordinary objects, such as drum, stones, plants, were raised to the artificial rank of deities. In accordance with the same system, सायण here (and he has the support of the ब्राह्मणs,) unmindful of the proper character of the hymn and of the deep longing of the poet for the unknown God, exalts the interrogative pronoun itself to the rank of a deity and acknowledges a god क or 'Who?' In his commentary on the first verse, he remarks :—

अत्र किंशब्दोऽनिर्ज्ञातस्वरूपत्वात् प्रजापतौ वर्त्तते । यद्वा सृष्ट्यर्थं कामयते इति कः । कमेर्डप्रत्ययः । यद्वा कं सुखं तद्रूपत्वात्क इत्युच्यते । अथवा इन्द्रेण पृष्टः प्रजापतिर्मदीयं महत्त्वं तुभ्यं प्रदाय अहं कः कीदृशः स्यामित्युक्तवान् । स इन्द्रः प्रत्यूचे यदीदं ब्रवीषि अहं कः स्यामिति तदेव त्वं भवेति । अतः कारणात्क इति प्रजापतिराख्यायते ।

Thus we have here four different explanations. The idea that these ancient hymns were written simply for the sake of their sacrifices and that whatever interpretation they thought fit to assign to these acts must be borne out by the hymns has vitiated the whole system of Indian exegesis. It might be justified perhaps, if it had only been applied to the purely sacrificial hymns, particularly to those which are found in संहिताs of the सामवेद and the यजुर्वेद. But the Rigveda. too, has experienced the same treatment at the hands of our commentators, and the stream of tradition flowing from the fountain-head of the original poets has, like the waters of the सरस्वती disappeared in the sands of a desert. Not only was the true nature of the gods completely lost sight of, but new gods were actually created out of words, which could never have been intended as names of divine beings as we see in the instance just given.

So far I have pointed out the defects in सायण's work, viewed from the modern critical standpoint. But I have not yet told the whole truth. There is another side to the picture. Let us imagine what the condition of Vedic scholarship would have been to-day, without this वेदार्थप्रकाश of सायण. Then only can its full worth be realised. The great Vedic exegesist of the 14th century has left no word unexplained, howsoever obscure it may be. I cannot do better than quote an extract from Max Müller's preface to his *Vedic hymns*:[1] "It is well-known to them who have followed my literary publications that I never entertained any exaggerated opinion as to the value of the traditional interpretation of the Veda, handed down in the theological schools of India and preserved to us in the great commentary of Sāyaṇa. More than twenty years ago, when it required more courage to speak out than now, I expressed my opinion on that subject in no ambiguous language and was blamed for it by some of them who now speak of Sāyaṇa as a mere drag, in the progress of Vedic scholarship. Even a drag, however, is sometimes more conducive to the safe advancement of learning than a whip; and those who recollect the history of Vedic scholarship during the last five and twenty years know best that with all its faults and weaknesses, Süyaṇa's commentary was a *sine qua non* for a scholarlike study of the Rigveda. I do not wonder that others who have more recently entered on that study are inclined to speak disparagingly of the scholastic interpretations of Sāyaṇa. They hardly know how much we all owe to his guidance in effecting our first entrance into this fortress of Vedic language and Vedic religion, and how much even they, without being aware of it, are indebted to that Indian Eustathius. I do not withdraw an opinion which I expressed many years ago and for which I was much blamed at the time rhat Sāyaṇa in many cases teaches us how the Veda ought not to be, rather than how it ought to be understood. But, for all that, who does not know how much assistance may be derived from a first translation, even though it is imperfect, nay, how often the very mistakes of our predecessors help us in finding the right track ? If now we can walk without Sāyaṇa.[1] we ought to bear in mind that five and twenty years ago, we could not have made even our first steps, we could never at least have gained a firm footing without his leading strings. If, therefore, we can now see further than he could, let us not forget that we are standing on his shoulders.''

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[1] Part 1, p, xxx.

But things have grown much brighter for सायण. A positive worth is discovered in सायण's work by Vedic scholars like Pischel and Geldner ; and in many cases it is सायण who hits upon the right and the only right meaning of a word or a passage, though of course no earnest seeker after ttuth would attach any worth to his grammatical and etymological subterfuges. We may take one instance to illustrate the truth of this. Roth – who was the first to attack conservative Sanskritists and to assert that any conscientious European exegesist could interpret the Veda better than सायण—remarks that all the Indian commentators explain the word पुरीष as ‘ water ’; whereas, the word really must mean quite the opposite, i.e. ‘land.’ Now this is not quite correct. No doubt सायण, in many of the passages in the Rigveda where the word occurs, explains it as उदक. But in X. 22. 21. he explains the word पुरीषात् as पूरकात् मण्डलात्, thereby hitting upon the original meaning of the word even more correctly than Roth himself. पुरीष means ‘ orb, circle ’ and is there used to denote, just like the word मण्डल,‘region,domain,lands earth’ as opposed to the ‘sea or ocean.’ While सायण in his commentary on RV. 1. 163. 1. explains पुरीषात् as सर्वकामानां पूरकांदुदकात् ; in the same verse, however, as it occurs in तै॰सं॰ 4. 2. 8. 1. he explains it as पुंस्त्वशक्तिसंपन्नान्महतोऽश्वात्, and महीधर explains it as पशोः सकाशात् in वा॰ सं॰ 29. 12. In Rigveda V. 55. 5. सायण explains पुरीषिणः as पुरीषं उदकं हे तद्वन्तः while in तै॰सं॰ 2.4.8.2 as पांशुयुक्तान् भूप्रदेशान्. In तै॰ संहिता 4. 3, 1. सायण says, पुरीषशब्देन नद्यादिगताः सिकता उच्यन्ते.In the same way महीधर explains, the word in वा॰ सं॰ 13, 53. who never seems to give the meaning of ‘water’ but paraphrases it always as पूरक, पूरण, पूरकं वन्तु; while on वा॰सं॰11.44, he says पुरीषशब्देन पांशुरूपा मृदुच्यते. Thus we see here, that the meaning which Roth gives to the word पुरीष was well known to Indian scholiasts and was accounted for in a more correct manner.[1]

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[1] I doubt this very much even today.

It was remarked above that there appears to be no unbroken tradition of Vedic exegesis; and this distinctly follows from the fact that सायण in a large number of cases

[1] See *Vediche Studien*, Vol, 1. Introd, p, 6,

proposes a number of different derivations of one and the same word. He mentions several schools and works, but unfortunately he does not throw any light upon the exact sources of information of which he makes use in his own interpretation of the Veda. Thus he has made use of भट्टभास्करमिश्र, स्कन्दस्वामिन् . कपर्दिस्वामिन् : he also refers to नैरुक्ता:, ऐतिहासिका:, पौराणिका:, शाब्दिका:. संप्रदायविद:, आत्मविद:, वृद्धशासनम् ; he also mentions पूर्वे भाष्यकृत:, अपरे केचन, and ushers in different views with such words as अन्य आह, अपर आह, कश्चिदाह.

Several other commentaries on the Rigveda are mentioned, but we know nothing definite about them. Thus there are रावणभाष्य, कौशिकभाष्य,and गूढार्थरत्नमाला. Again देवराज in his commentary on the निरुक्त, mentions the वेदभाष्याणि of भवस्वामिन् , राहदेवश्रीनिवास, माधवदेव, all of whom seem to be older than सायण.

महीधर and उव्वट are the great and equally important commentators on the यजुर्वेद, but we are not concerned with them here except when we have to refer to their interpretation of verses common to both the Rigveda and the Yajurveda.

LECTURE VI

THE METHOD OF STUDYING THE RIGVEDA

The method is everything--The object of including Rigveda in the curriculum-The orthodox view-the historical stand-point-wanting the spirit of inquiry-the historical and comparative method-the golden mean-a concrete illustration of the method-the words अरि and अर्य in the Rigveda

I have given you some idea of the work done by ancient and modern scholars in the field of Vedic exegesis. Now I should like to make a few remarks on the method of studying Rigveda.[1] Method is important in every branch of study, but more so still in the matter of the study of the Rigveda. At school and at college you study several subjects not so much to bear the results or the concrete facts in mind, as to receive a particular training of the intellect and emotions, which object is gained not by the mechanical cramming of facts but by the particular method which has been inculcated in your mind and which has become a habit with you. The spirit of an honest search after truth is the chief thing in all education. To collect facts with accuracy, to shift them with a spirit of honest inquiry, criticize them with a liberal broad-mindedness not allowing yourself to be influenced by patriotism or bias, at the same time trying to understand the tradition, if any, with due sympathy and then only to draw a conclusion where possible; this is the habit without which no one can be a scholar, especially in the field of the study of the Rigveda. And it is with the object of engendering this habit, that the Rigveda is included in the curriculum of our University. It may be even of some use to commit to memory the meanings of some words and the translation of some verses; but that is not all. If you have not acquired patience and perseverance in the search after truth with an unprejudiced mind, well then the time you have spent in the study of the Rigveda has been wasted.

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[1] Compare A, A, Macdonell on "The principles to be followed in translating the Rīgveda" in *Bhandarrhar Commemoration Volume*, p. p, 3 ff,—V, S, S,

The orthodox Pandits regarded the Veda as revelation. The primeval sages like विश्वामित्र and वसिष्ठ, गृत्समद and अत्रि had धर्म revealed to them; their task was only to communicate it in the same form to others. As such the highest wisdom was contained in it; its authority was not to be questioned. But the elaboration of the ritual exerted in course of time a sinister influence over the interpretation of the Vedic texts, which were solely regarded as subservient to that purpose. The theological standpoint of view prevailed and the only available complete commentary on the Rigveda was written by a typical theologian.

Nor is it possible that there was any strict continuity of tradition reaching upto the time of सायण as was shown above, सायण scarcely waits to ask himself whether the meaning which he proposes for a particular word is justified by the occurances of the word in other passages. The spirit of inquiry is wanting. Hence dogmatic assertions are made without any qualifiication. He could not be content with leaving a question open, even though there be not sufficient material to arrive at a decision.

When, however, European scholars took up the study of the Rigveda, they proceeded very cautiously. But even amongst them there was once a school of the so-called conservative Sanskritists, headed by Wilson, who held that सायण's commentary was the only safe guide through the intricacies and obscurities of the text. Against these there stepped forth Roth, who revolutionized the whole thing and may be credited with having laid the foundation of the modern Vedic scholarship. Induction and comparison were the guiding principles of his method. He brought together the several passages where a certain word occurred, classified them, and fixed upon the stages through which the word has passed and thus gave, as it were, a history of the word from beginning to end. No misguided patriotism could blind him. But Roth went to the other extreme in his zeal to combat the conservative Sanskritists. Having lost faith in Indian commentators as a class, in his zeal to demolish the edifice of tradition, he raised a structure based upon reason, one prejudice taking the place of another. Many of Roth's conjectures are thus now found to be unsustainable if not totally wrong, though no donbt the credit of first raising the curtain in the drama of Vedic exegesis is his.

As, however, the study of the Vedas advanced more and more, the golden mean came to be followed. Due sympathy for traditional interpretations of Indian commentators, combined with the spirit of honest search after truth with patience and intelligence has come to be the principle guiding the course of Vedic studies. I believe that the best and most effective means of bringing home to you the nature of this method is to take a concrete instance and to apply the method to it.[1] I now propose to determine the meaning of the words आरे and अर्य, which occur so frequently in the Rigveda. In the first place. to narrow our field, let us bring together all the passages in the 7th मण्डल where the forms of आरि and अर्य occur, and see how सायण interprets them.

अरि as well as अर्य: occur in VII. 64. 3. सायण explains both, as अर्यमा, a god mentioned along with मित्र and वरुण and further remarks : अर्यम्ण: पूनराभिधानमादरार्थम् .

अरिप्रं—VII. 47. 1–सायण-पापरहितम् ; अरिप्रा:–VII. 90. 4–सायण पापरहिता:, In the latter passage it is to he noted that the पदपाठ has अरिऽप्रा:, though the word is interpreted as made up of अ and रिप्र, by almost all commentators.

The form अर्य: occurs in a very large number of cases in the 7th मण्डल itself :

VII. 8. 1.—nom. sing. स्वामी, हविषां प्रेरको वा S.: 21.5–nom. sing, स्वामी (इन्द्र:) S, : 2I. 9—gen. sing.–अर्य: अभीर्ति अभिगमनम् S, who does not give another word for अर्य: but evidently takes t to mean अरे:; 31.5.–स्वामी (त्वम्) S.; 34.18—अरय: nom.plu. S. ; 48. 3—अरीन् S. ; 48. 3—शत्रूणामाभिगन्तार: S. ; 56. 22—अरे: शत्रो: सकाशात् (भ्रातार:). S. ; 60. 11—ईरयति स्तुती: प्रेरयति इत्यरि: स्तोता तस्य (मन्युं स्तोत्रं) S. ; 64. 3—see above अरि:; 68, 2—अरे: अस्मद्विरोधिन: S.; 83. 5—अरे: शत्रो: S.;86. 7–स्वामी[S.;92. 4—अरे: S.; 100. 5—स्वामी स्तुतीनां हविषां वा S.

Thus, we see that the form अर्य: is sometimes taken to be nom. sing, of अर्य, sometimes nom. or accu. plu. of अरि, but very frequently, the gen. sing. of अरि. And the opposite meanings of 'a pious man' and 'one who is not pious','friend' and an 'enemy' are attributed to the same word, which no doubt, is a curious phenomenon, and involves great improbability.

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[1] Cf. also V. K. Rajwade, "An attempt to determine the meanings of certain Vedic words" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, 1918—19, pp, 45 ff, ; 1920-21 pp, 109 ff,–V. S. S.

As for the word अरि,[1] all are at one in attributing to it both a good and a bad meaning, though it is improbable that one and the same word should mean both 'friend' (*e. g.* Ludwig. I. 150. 1; V. 33.6 and 9) and 'enemy'(*e.g.* Ludwig. VIII, 34. 10; IX.79. 3) or 'pious man' and his opposite (*e.g.* I. 9. 10; and I. 184. 1; I. 185. 9). Roth thinks that there are really two words; one derived from अर् and the other अ-रि from रा· Grassmann assumes only one word, derived from अर्; while Bergaigne thinks of only अ-रि (from रा 'to give' or रै 'wealth') and अरि means a greedy man, an enemy or a poor man, thus a priest. He further says that अर्यः comes mostly from अरि and not from अर्य. Oldenberg advocates the same view; and lastly Geldner thinks that the second meaning (*viz.* अ-रि) is inadmissible.

The right meaning of the word is taught by यास्क in नि० V. 7. where he says that अरि means अमित्र and ईश्वर.

1. अरि = rich, the rich man, the patron, ruler. In VIII. 2. 13 and 14, the context distinctly shows that रेवत् = मघवन् = अरि.

So also in I. 150. 1 and 2, we have a contrast between the really rich man and the supposed rich man and there अरि = धनिन्.

So in AV. 20.127.11, it is said of the glorifier of Indra, सर्वं इत्ते पृणाद् अरिः = 'every rich man will spend for thee with full hands'. And this would indeed prove more attractive to the singer than the false hope of the nobility of the greedy, as in Oldenberg's translation 'even the greedy will fill thee'. So in I. 184, 1 and 1.185. 9 (भूरि चिद् अर्यः सुदास्तराय, to one who is more liberal than the rich) the meaning ईश्वर only suits.

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[1] This note is abbreviated from *Vedische Studien* by Pischel and Geldner, Vol, III,, p, 72 ff,

The use of अरि in the sing. preponderates, while the only instances where the plural can be said to be used without doubt are V. 33. 2; VI. 20. 1, VI. 25. 7; VII. 48. 3; VII. 92. 4; X. 89. 3.

The word अरि as used in connection with the war horse दधिक्रावन् and the horse of Pedu means the same thing. Thus हेव्या अर्यः I. 116. 6; जोहूत्रं अर्यः I. 118. 9; चर्कृत्यं अर्यः IV.38. 2; all mean 'to be invoked by a rich man' and not by a poor man. Or अर्यः in these cases may be the abl. rather than the gen. and the expressions mean 'who is more praised than a rich man'. For such a use of the abl. giving the adj. the sense of the compar. cf. अरित्रं वां दिवः पृथु I. 46. 8. So also in VIII. 19.36, we have मंहिष्ठो अर्यः सत्पतिः, 'the noble lord, who is more liberal than every rich man.'

If we compare the various passages containing the phrase अर्य आ, we find that the word विश्व generally precedes it; by placing these passages side by side with others in which विश्व and अरि come together we shall see that अरि means ईश्वर, the 'rich man', and is contrasted with विश्व which means 'the general class of men, the mass.'

IX. 61. II.—एना विश्वानि अर्य आ द्युम्नानि मानुषाणां वनामहे ; 'the honours of men, down to the rich; even of the rich man.'

X. 191. I—विश्वान्यर्य आ.

VI. 45. 33; VIII. 94. 3. In all the passages आ=अभिविधि: and the idea is 'all even including the rich'.

X. 28, I.—विश्वो हि अन्यो अरि: आजगाम, 'every other man even the rich, has come'.

VIII. 1. 22—विश्वगूर्तो अरिष्टुत:, 'glorified by all, praised even by the rich man'.

I. 61. 9—विश्वगूर्त: स्वरि:, 'praised by all, he to whom even the rich man is well-disposed (शोभन: अरि: यस्मै)'. अरि and सूरि are on a level and refer to the same persons, instead of meaning opposite persons (*e. g.* poor and rich). Thus in VI. 25.7 अस्माकासो... अर्य: सूरय:, 'rich patrons'; cf. अस्माकासश्च सूरय: I. 97. 3: and V. 10. 6. also अस्माकासो मघवान: VII. 78. 5 and VII. 92. 4.

X. 20. 4—अर्यो विशां गातु: एति. Here an antithesis between the rich man and the oridinary man is meant.

So also I. 4. 6—उत न: सुभगाँ अरि: वोचेयु: दस्मकृष्टय:.

III. 43. 2—अति चर्षणी: आँ अर्य: 'come to us across the ordinary people, even the rich,'

VIII. 34. 10—आ याहि अर्य: आ परि स्वाहा सोमस्य पीतये.

Also I. 9. 10. In I, 126. 5 we have अरिधायस: गा:, 'cows which satisfy or nourish even the rich.'

So also cf. VII. 100. 5, where अर्य:='of a rich man'. After having fixed the general meaning ईश्वर for अरि, we now come to other more particular meanings of the word, following from the general one.

2. अरि=मघवन् the patron, the rich यजमान.

VII. 92. 4.; X. 39. 5. सायण–अरि=गन्ता, पतिः, यजमानः); VII. 64. 3. व्रवद्यथा न आ॑रिः अरिः सुदासे 'so that the patron can recommend us to another generous donor, or to king सुदास.'

VII. 34. 9—उयमं केतुं अर्यः, 'the standard, the type of a patron.

So अर्यः गिरः, 'the song of the patron,' *i.e.*the song ordered by the यजमान and recited for him by the priest, cf. also I, 122. 14; X. 148. 3.

4. अरि=मघवन् इन्द्र Cf.V. 33. 6.

As greed and niggardliness are also associated with the rich man who does not give away riches or utilise them in performing sacrifices and rewarding priests, अरि then came to have the bad meaning, though this cannot be established etymologically. By the side of such expressions as रेवता पणिना IV. 25. 7. रेवान् अदासुरिः VIII. 45. 15; we have also अर्यो अदाशुषः IX. 23. 3. Notice the word कदर्य—which lit. means 'a bad master'—meaning 'a niggardly person.' So also in classical Sanskrit literature riches are often denounced, which easily accounts for the change of meaning of the word अरि from 'a rich man' to 'a greedy man.' Thus in II. 12. 4 and 5 अरि is used in this sense; cf. also 81. 9, where इन्द्र is asked to confiscate the wealth of the अरि. The same idea is met with in IX. 23. 3; V. 2. 12; I. 33. 3; VIII. 21. 6. In all these passages, the अरि is spoken of with so much contempt that अरि comes to mean 'an enemy.' The idea that a rich man is hated on account of his riches and that riches makes men enemies of each other, is very frequently met with in classical Sanskrit literature. Thus अरि first means 'the rich rival,'or 'patron of the opposite party', and then the hositile patron' and the 'enemy, rival.' He who thinks this change of meaning too forced and artificial,should remember the word भ्रातृव्य which means a 'nephew' and 'rival' too.

Thus the word अरि means a 'rich man', 'greedy person' 'rival,' 'enemy'. It is difficult to determine which particular meaning the word has as the meanings themselves are difficult to be distinguished in a cut and dry manner. When the description refers to a battle, or when even a sacrificial meeting is represented as a battle, then the bad meaning is applicable.

Thus in VII. 48. 3—विश्वान् अर्यः—all thc rich rivals, and अर्यः शत्रोः —of the rich enemy; cf. VIII. 65. 9 — विश्वान् अर्यः विपश्चितः अति ख्यः: 'Leave unheeded all the singers of the rich rival'.

Cf II. 23. 5—अति यदर्यो अर्हाद् ..द्रविणम्, 'the wealth, that is more worthy than that of the rival'.

VII. 68. 2—तिरो अर्यो हवनानि श्रुतं नः 'unheeding the invocations of the rival, listen to ours' Also cf. IV.29.1; VIII. 33. 14; VIII. 66. 12; VIII. 65. 9.

VII. 31. 5—'मा नो निदे च वक्तवे अर्यो रन्धी. अरावणे; and cf. VIII. 48. 8.

Also अर्यो अरातयः, 'the bad will of the rival or the enemy; VI. 48. 16; VII. 83. 5; etc.

As for the word अर्य, Naigh. II.22 gives अर्य as one of the synonyms of ईश्वर, पाणिनि III. 1. 103 has अर्य- स्वामिवैश्ययोः-. In the Veda it is used to mean 'master, ruler'; cf. VIII. 1.34; VIII. 51. 9; IV. 16. 17; X. 34. 13; VII. 65. 2; II. 35. 2; IV. 1. 7; V. 16. 3; VII. 8. 1. On VI. 47. 9. सायण has अर्यो धनस्य स्वामी अन्य कश्चित्.

Even in those passages, where अर्य and दास are mentioned side by side, अर्य need not mean an 'Aryan,' but only a 'master, lord' *e.g.* in VII. 86.7 अर्यपत्नी and दासपत्नी are used of waters, meaning respectively 'owned by Indra' and 'owned by robbers.' Cf. VII. 6. 5; and X. 43. 8.

In classical Sanskrit अरि means only 'enemy', अर्य is obsolete and आर्य means the 'Aryan.'

LECTURE VII

THE DIFFERENT VIEWS HELD REGARDING THE CONTENTS OF THE RIGVEDA

The orthodox view—the Vedas are inspired and infallible-The idea that the संहिताs and ब्राह्मणs are inferior to the उपनिषद्s—passages referring to the making or composing of hymns—a superhuman character ascribed to the ऋषिs—How to reconcile the contradictory ideas—The view that Vedas are a babbling of primitive people—Religious, philosophical and secular hymns—the wedding hymn X, 85,—The funeral hymn X, 18—Historical hymns—*Danastutis*—A humorous hymn—Didactic-gnomic hymns—formulas of incantation—poetical riddles,

Now we proceed to consider and discuss the different views held regarding the contents of the Rigveda. The orthodox view is that the Rigveda is the eternal storehouse of highest knowledge, that it is inspired or is of divine origin, and that it is endowed with supernatural efficacy. Inspiration and infallibility are the two chief attributes of the Veda. It is of interest to know what opinions post-Vedic writers held in this matter, and whether they are confirmed by an examination of the contents of the Rigveda itself. To begin with, I may quote the following passage from the शतपथ ब्राह्मण X.4.2. 21–23; ,‘ Then he looked around upon all beings. He beheld all beings in this triple Vedic Science. For, in it is the soul of all metres, of all hymns of praise, of all breaths, of all the gods. This, indeed, exists. It is an undying thing. For that which is undying (really) exists. This is that which is mortal. प्रजापति reflected, ‘ All beings are comprehended in the triple Vedic Science; come, let me dispose myself in the shape of the triple Vedic science."

You know the well-known verse in the पुरुषसूक्त:—

तस्माद्यज्ञात्सर्वहुतः ऋचः सामानि जज्ञिरे
छन्दांसि जज्ञिरे तस्मात् यजुस्तस्मादजायत ॥

From the अथर्ववेद and from the पुराणs a large number of passages may be quoted bearing on this subject, which all agree in preaching that the Veda had a divine or mystic origin. All this while, however, there was another idea running through all sorts of works viz., the inferiority of the संहिता proper in comparison with the उपनिषद्s or अध्यात्मशास्त्र. That the Veda deals with only कर्म, whose fruit howsoever glorious and pleasing at first is after all perishable; while ज्ञान or knowledge alone is the efficient means of highest bliss, is an idea met with eveywhere. The Vedic hymns, though a divine origin is, no doubt, allowed to them, are at all events depreciated, as parts of the inferior science, in contrast to the ब्रह्मविद्या or knowledge of Brahma, the highest of all knowledge. In this connection I may adduce the well-known passage from the छान्दोग्य उपनिषद् (VII. 1. 1)

अधीहि भगवः इति ह उपससाद सनत्कुमारं नारदः तं...
होवाच यद्वेत्थ तेन मोपसीद । ततस्त ऊर्ध्वं वक्ष्यामीति स
होवाच ॥ १ ॥ ऋग्वेदं भगवोऽध्येमि यजुर्वेदं सामवेदमाथर्वणं
चतुर्थमितिहासपुराणं पञ्चमं वेदानां वेदं पित्र्यं राशिं दैवं निधिं
वाकोवाक्यमेकायनं देवविद्यां ब्रह्मविद्यां भूतविद्यां क्षत्रविद्यां नक्षत्र-
विद्यां सर्पदेवजनविद्यामेतद्भगवोऽध्येमि ॥ २ ॥ सोऽहं भगवो मन्त्र-
विदेवास्मि नात्मविच्छ्रुतं ह्येव मे भगवद्दृशेभ्यस्तरति शोकमात्म-
विदिति सोऽहं भगवः शोचामि तं मा भगवाञ्छोकस्य पारं तारय-
त्विति तं होवाच यद्वै किंचैतदध्यगीष्ठा नामैवैतत् ॥ ३ ॥ नाम वा
ऋग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेद आथर्वणश्चतुर्थ इतिहासपुराणः पञ्चमो
वेदनां वेदः...॥ ४ ॥ स यो नाम ब्रह्मेत्युपास्ते यावन्नाम्नो गतं
तत्रास्य यथाकामचारो भवति यो नाम ब्रह्मेत्युपास्तेऽस्ति भगवो
नाम्नो भूय इति नाम्नो वाव भूयोऽस्तीति—तन्मे भगवन्ब्रवीतु इति.

In this passage, all the Vedic संहिताs and other branches of knowledge are spoken of as being mere pedantry, not able to free you from misery. But the knowledge of the soul by which alone you can get beyond misery is something over and above all this learning. The same thought finds expression in the भगवद्गीता II. 42. ff.

यामिमां पुष्पितां वाचं प्रवदन्त्यविपश्चितः ।
वेदवादरताः पार्थ नान्यदस्तीति वादिनः ॥ ४२ ॥
कामात्मानः स्वर्गपरा जन्मकर्मफलप्रदाम् ।
क्रियाविशेषबहुलां......
त्रैगुण्यविषया वेदा निस्त्रैगुण्यो भवार्जुन ।
यावानर्थ उदपाने सर्वतः संप्लुतोदके ।
तावान्सर्वेषु वेदेषु ब्राह्मणस्य विजानतः ॥ ४६ ॥

Here, the Vedas are condemned as being flowery speech dealing with actions and their rewards, of no value to the possessor of the knowledge of Brahma. That the Veda deals with something supernatural which cannot be made known by ordinary perception and inference is the idea running through the following extract from the वेदार्थप्रकाश of माधवाचार्य on the तैतिरीय यजुर्वेदः[1]

इष्टप्राप्त्यनिष्टपरिहारयोरलौकिकमुपायं यो ग्रन्थो वेदवाति स वेदः । अलौकिकपदेन प्रत्यक्षानुमाने व्यावर्त्यैते ।

In the जैमिनीयन्यायमालाविस्तर (I. 1. 25 and 26), the idea that the Veda had any personal author is refuted as follows :

पौरुषेयं न वा वेदवाक्यं स्यात्पौरुषेयता । काठकादिसमाख्यानाद्वाक्यत्वाच्चान्यवाक्यवद् ॥ समाख्याध्यापकत्वेन वाक्यत्वं तु पराहतम् । तत्कर्त्रनुपलम्भेन स्यात्ततोऽपौरुषेयता ॥

The same view will be found to have been held by all post-Vedic writers. that the Vedas are not the work of a personal author, that their authority is self-evident, that, therefore, they are eternal and self-evident. Here I may explain the meaning of अपौरुषेयत्व, which is so frequently asserted about the Vedas. The नैयायिकs, while admitting the unquestionable authority of the Vedas and basing their ideas of the self thereupon, assert at the same time that they are the works of ईश्वर, the Highest Self, who is all-pervading, omniscient and free from desire, happiness etc. They argue that just as the works of ordinary type are written by human authors (*e. g.* रघुवंश by कालिदास and so on), so also the Vedas, being as much compositions as रघुवंश must have some author and that is none but ईश्वर, who is far superior to ordinary souls. Hence the authoritativeness of the Vedas. Against this the Vedantins argue that the वेदs are not पौरुषेय but they are अपौरुषेय and this अपौरुषेयत्व is technically explained by them thus :

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[1] Ed, *Biblothica Indica*, p, 1 ff,

नहि तावत्पुरुषेणोच्चार्यमाणत्वं पौरुषेयत्वं, गुरुमतेऽपि अध्यापकपरंपरया पौरुषेयत्वापत्तेः । नापि पुरुषाधीनोत्पत्तिकत्वं पौरुषेयत्वं ...किं तु सजातीयोच्चारणानपेक्षोच्चारणविषयत्वम् । तथा च सर्गाद्यकाले परमेश्वरः पूर्वसर्गसिद्धवेदानुपूर्वीसमानानुपूर्वीकं वेदं विरचितवान् न तु तद्विजातीयं वेदमिति न सजातीयोच्चारणानपेक्षोच्चारणविषयत्वं पौरुषेयत्वं वेदानाम् । भारतादीनां तु सजातीयोच्चारणमनपेक्ष्यैवोच्चारणमिति तेषां पौरुषेयत्वम् ।[1]

Thus the अपौरुषेयत्व consists in the fact that the Vedas in this creation are exactly like those in the previous creation and so on without beginning.

If, however, we turn to the Rigveda itself and examine its contents with a view to determining the question before us, what do we find ? We find a very large number of passa-

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1, वेदान्तपरिभाषा end of आगमपरिच्छेद.

ges where we have a distinct reference to the facts, that (1) the hymns were composed or made by the sages or ऋषिs with whom they are associated and (2) there are old and new ऋषिs and hymns spoken of separately.

Thus we have VII 35. 14 इदं ब्रह्म क्रियमाणं नवीय: ; VII.37.4 ब्रह्म कृण्वन्तो हरिवो वसिष्ठा: ; VII.97.9 ब्रह्मेन्द्राय वज्रिणे अकारि, and so on.

In the following passages, the word तक्ष, 'to fashion fabricate' is applied to the composition of hymns; VII.7.6 मन्त्र ये वारं नर्या अतक्षन् ; II 19.8 ; II.35.2 ; VII.15.4 नवं नु स्तोममग्नये.. अजीजनम ; VII 22.9 इन्द्र ब्रह्माणि जनयन्त विप्रा: ; VII.26.1. तस्मा उक्थं जनये यज्जुजोषत् ; VII. 31. 11. इन्द्राय ब्रह्म जनयन्त विप्रा:; VII. 94. 1. इयं...पूर्व्यस्तुति: अभ्राद्वृष्टिरिवाजनि.

It is, of course, quite possible that in some cases this making or fashioning of hymns may mean nothing more than uttering or reciting the prayers on the occasion. The passages in which ancient and modern ऋषिs, and old and new hymns, are spoken of have been given above in Lecture III.

By the side of these there are, however, other passages in which a certain superhuman character seems to be ascribed to some of the ऋषिs and divine inspiration is supposed to have given rise to hymns, to which also a mysterious or magical power is ascribed. I may here refer to one such passage in connection with the ऋषि वसिष्ठ, the author of the seventh मण्डल—

VII. 33. 7 to 13 verses—त्रय: कृण्वन्ति भुवनस्य रेत: etc.

In VII. 87. 4 and VII. 88. 4 there are references to knowledge supernaturally communicated or favours divinely conferred on वसिष्ठ. The same is said of विश्वामित्र, the author of the third मण्डल in III. 29. 15; III. 43. 5; and III 53. 9.

वाच् is personified and highly eulogised in X. 125, and the divine speech is described as having entered into the ऋषिs: in X. 71. 3.

यज्ञेन वाचः पदवीयमायन् तामन्वविन्दन् ऋषिषु प्रविष्टाम् ।

In the following passages, a miraculous power is attributed to the prayers of the ऋषिs

III. 53 12–विश्वात्रस्य रक्षति ब्रह्म इदं भारतं जनम् ।

VII, 33. 3–एवं नु कं दाशराज्ञे सुदासम प्रावद् इन्द्रो ब्रह्मणा वो वसिष्ठाः ।

VII. 33. 5–वासिष्ठस्य स्तुवतः इन्द्रः अश्रोत् उरुं तृत्सुभ्य अकृणोदु लोकम् ।

At the same time, we have passages in which the ऋषिs distinctly speak of their own consciousness of ignorance and inability to fathom the profound depths of the universe and knowledge, as against the omniscience ascribed to them by later writers *e. g.* I. 164. 5, 6 and 37.

How are we to reconcile all these various ideas present in the Rigveda? It is quite clear that some of the ancient ऋषिs entertained a belief, though, no doubt, indistinct and hesitating, in their own inspiration. The belief was not then suffered to die out in the minds of later generations. On the contrary it grew up by degrees into a fixed persuasion that all the literary productions of these early sages had not only resulted from a supernatural impulse but were infallible, divine and even eternal.

I have above referred to the idea that the संहिताs of the Veda though regarded as revelation, were considered inferior or lower in character, as compared with the अध्यात्मशास्त्र in the उपनिषद्s. This view was furthered by the मीमांसकs and in सायण's commentary we see that the ritualistic purpose is prominently held before our view in the interpretation of the text.

Now coming to the views held by the moderns in this matter, I have first to refer to the view that the Rigveda is merely a collection of poems, which suggested themselves to the ऋषिs on the spur of the moment. The Primitive Aryans were children easily susceptible to the influence of their surroundings, highly imaginative, simple and innocent.

This view has been now almost abandoned or substantially modified, as the hymns of the Rigveda have come to be studied more closely and critically. That the Aryans of the Rigveda were not absolutely primitive, bnt that they were in a sufficiently advanced stage of civilization is a fact most clearly proved by the contents of the hymns themselves.

Coming to a more particular examination of the contents of the Rigveda, we may divide the hymns into three classes, -religious hymns, philosophical hymns, and secular hymns. As remarked already, the religious hymns form a very large majority. What the prevailing religious thought and belief is, we shall consider in another lecture. Suffice it to say here that all those hymns which are definitely addressed to divinities, containing a eulogy of them and requests for the granting of riches, progeny. and cattle and so on are included in the class religious. The philosophic hymns, very few in number, are those which refer to such questions as who I am, whence I come, what is the prime cause of the universe and so on. These also will be dealt with elsewhere. Here I shall deal at some length fully with what I have called the secular hymns. It is impossible to distinguish them sharply from the religious hymns, but here we mean by secular, those hymns which are not specially addressed to divinities.

We may best begin with those hymns which mark a transition. as it were, from the religious to the secular aspect of thought; those for instance which refer to the wedding rite or funeral rites, ceremonies which are partly religious and partly secular. In this connection the 85th सूक्त of the 10th मण्डल is most deserving of study. The marriage of सोम and सूया is the theme of this hymn, a patterm of married union in general. "As Sun and Moon ever support each other and alternate in their office, on the constant fulfilment of which depend not only the prosperity of all inanimate nature, but also the possibility of intercourse between men and the ordering of civil relations, even so man and wife must work together in harmony, and with united powers untiringly fulfil the duties laid upon them in their vocation for the advancement of the family."[1] I recommend the hymn to you for study, as it throws considerable light on the rite of marriage. The bridegroom with his right hand takes the right hand of the bride and says :

"I take thy hand in mine for happy fortune that thou mayest reach old age with me, thy husband. Gods, अर्यमन, भग, सवितृ, पुरन्धि. have given thee to be my household's mistress."

What an important part was played by the wife in the Aryan household, and how sacred and dignified the rite of marriage was regarded can be best judged from the admonitions and good wishes contained in the closing verses of the

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1, Kaegi *op. cit* p. 75,

2. RV, X, 85, 36.

hymn, with which the newly married couple are greeted. I may quote here only one verse (X.85.46) in translation:

So rule and govern in thy home
Over thy husband's parents both:
His brother and his sister, too,
Are subject likewise there to thee.

The next hymn to be noted in this connection is the funeral hymn–(X. 18), which should be carefully studied as it gives us a good idea of the most solemn rite prevalent amongst the Aryans.

We may pass to a consideration of the so-called historical hymns. They are historical only in the sense that they refer to the victory and triumph of some princes or princely families. Although the really historical gain is very meagre, and the statements are exceedingly deficient, still, these fragments give us a glance into the active, war-disturbed life of the Vedic times. The kings seek to win the fovour of god इन्द्र and secure for themselve sncces against their enemy; but this they can do only by means of a prayer poured from their heart and fashioned after the model of the ancients, in honour of that god, for which they employ priests like विश्वामित्र and वसिष्ठ, who in their turn highly eulogise the liberality of the patron princes, compare VII. 18; VII. 33. 1–7; and VII. 83.

In this connection are to be noticed the so-called दानस्तुतिs or praises of gifts. These are portions, not of the very highest poetical order, interpolated among or added to the original hymns, which while praising the generosity of the princes who bestowed presents on the ऋषिs throw light on the names of tribes and kings and also on the families of singers and their genealogies As an instance of such a दानस्तुति see verses 22–25 of VII, 18: also V. 30. 12–15.[1]

We may also notice a humorous hymn (VII. 103) in which the poet banteringly likens the awakening of the frogs at the beginning of the rainy season, their merry croaking and their jollity to the songs of priests intoxicated with Soma. Muir and Max Müller regard this hymn as a satire, but Haug and Bühler think that frogs and priests are mentioned together only because both have reference to rain. This is one of the three rain-bringing hymns, the others being VII. 101 and 102.

There are also many instances of a didacticgnomic kind in which proverbial thoughts and sententious maxims are brought together in the form of a verse; the ripe practical experience is summed up briefly. Thus X. 117 is a collection of sayings, so also the Song of Wisdom. X. 71.

About women several things, favourable and unfavourable, are said in a sententious manner. Thus VIII. 33. 17—"Woman's mind is hard to direct aright". X. 95. 15—"There can be no friendship with women, their hearts are those of hyenas". On the other hand, we have a more favourable verdict in V. 61. 6—7—" And many a woman is better than the man". Also in X. 27. 12 the idea is that maidens are often wooed for the sake of their riches. VI. 58. 5—even an ugly man becomes beautiful if he has only cows or riches.

1, The examples are: VI, 47. 32; VIII, 1, 32 ff; VIII, 4. 20 ff; VIII. 5. 37 ff, X 62, 8, I, 126, 1, VIII. 46, 33, Formulas of incantation and exorcism are also to be found in the Rigveda, though their proper sphere is really the अथर्ववेद. The healing of a sick person is accomplished in X. 60. 12; Indra heals a woman afflicted by skin disease in VIII. 80; in X. 161. 2 and 5 one who is near to death is recalled to life. A bad omen is averted in X.164, 5; in X. 145 a girl seeks to overthrow a successful rival. A maiden awaiting her lover seeks to put the household to sleep in VII. 55. 5–8.

Before concluding, I have to refer to the so-called poetical riddles or ब्रह्मोद्यs in which things are described not by their names but by enigmatical expressions, by symbolical and mystical references, numbers playing an important part. Hymn VIII. 29 is a good instance, the simplest of its kind. In verses 4, 5, 7, 8, of this hymn, the gods इन्द्र, रुद्र, विष्णु and अश्विन्s are spoken of, without their names being mentioned, but they can be guessed from the very short descriptions typical of them. Much more intricate and difficult are the symbolic descriptions of Heaven and Earth, Sun and Moon, the atmosphere, the cloud, rain, the Sun's rays, the year, seasons, months and so on. See hymn 1.164.[1]

[1] Mention should be made here of another category of hymns, the so-called आख्यान hymns, which are regarded by some as the earliest forms of dramatic literature in India, and by others as ballads—V. S. S.

LECTURE VIII

RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY OF THE RIGVEDA.

No fixed religion, but a procession of ideas—not primitive but civilized—the practical and utilitarian character—a hieratic religion—a religion of the upper classes—enjoyment of the present life—simplicity and sincerity—transparency of conceptions—arrested personification—comparison with Greek Mythology—Henotheism—the threefold division—A difference in the conceptions of Gods in the Rigveda and in the पुराणs—अग्नि-His three forms—His birth—the messenger—important attributes--the myth of आग्नि concealing himself—इन्द्र—opaque and Indo-European--God of physical power--the national hero of the Aryans--His exploit over वृत्र--the Storm theory--the Dawn theory--the Spring theory.

A very large number of the hymns of the Rigveda is religious in character; and hence you would be desirous to know what religion these hymns contain. But let me tell you at the very outset that it is a very hard task, nay, almost an impossible task, to answer exactly the point. Because in the first place, most of these hymns are mere prayers generally connected with some sacrifice or other, and in the second place, there is no attempt at system, the collection being nothing but individual prayers addressed on very varied occasions, by different ऋषिs who were perhaps separated from each other by long intervals. Thus, we have in the Rigveda a procession of thoughts, not a fixed, stereotyped result. We see here how the ideas were formed and how they progressed; we have not got one systematic whole, in which everything is complete and finished. Thus what

I shall attempt in this lecture, is merely to indicate to you what ideas prevailed in the age of the Rigveda, as indicated by the hymns which we are studying.

According to one view, which was very strongly advocated during the early stages of the Vedic study, the Vedic religion is very primitive, the Vedic people being almost semi-barbarians. They were mere children dazed and overawed by the different natural phenomena, and stupefied with wonder and admiration. As a German nursery rhyme asks. "Tell me how white milk can come from the red cow," so the Vedic ऋषि is struck with wonder that in the raw cows black of hue or ruddy, is stored the ripe milk, glossy white in colour; and this miracle is praised again and again as an evidence of divine power.[1]

But a careful study of the hymns would show that this view is not tenable. That the Vedic people had a civilization of their own; that the hymns mark a certain advanced stage in artistic and metrical development; that the hymns are meant to serve a definite purpose, they were ancillary to the sacrifice: these are facts which every student of the Rigveda will easily see for himself. That the sense of artistic fitness was active in them clearly follows from such passages as: I.109, 1 ; I.62. 13 ; II. 19.8; VII.7. 6; I.171. 2; VII. 64. 4—in all of which the hymn or song is described as well hewn ' 'well fashioned as a war chariot from the hands of a skilled artisan. ' cf. also X. 119. 5:

अहं तष्टेव वन्धुरं पर्यचामि हृदा मतिम् ।

A striking feature of the Vedic religion is its practical and utilitarian nature. The hymns, though highly poetic and inspired in character, are all at the same time incidental to the sacrifice. They are recited or sung by the priests or bards on occasions of sacrifice whether as mystic spells to accompany and sanctify the offerings or as rhapsodies to elevate and cheer those present. The ऋषिs offer prayers and oblations of सोम or Ghee, expecting in return rewards from the gods, such as long life, prosperity, cattle, warlike sons and so on. 'Reciprocity, frank, unconditional reciprocity becomes an accepted motive:[1] cf. the following instances from the 7th मण्डल: 1. 5. 23, 24; 8. 6.; 15. 4. 9; 16. 9, 10; 82. 7; etc.

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[1] See RV. 1. 62. 9; 1. 180. 3; II. 40. 2; and so on.

Another trait of the Vedic religion which naturally follows from the above, is that it is essentially a religion of priests, a hieratic-religion. The priests occupy a very important position in the ritual; they serve as mediators between princes and gods. Not only sacrifices but such important matters as the issues of a combat between rival princes or clans solely or at least mainly depend on the the prayers of the priests. The priests propitiate the gods with prayers and offerings and the gods thus persuaded, actually take part, as it were, in the combat and make their favoured party victorious, rooting out and crushing the hostile army. cf. VII. 18. Also see VII. 83, where the वसिष्ठs invoke the assistance of इन्द्र and वरुण in favour of their patron सुदास्: "The enemies have circumscribed me, hear our call and come to us with succour; you heard the prayers of these in the cries of war; effectual was the service of the तृत्सुs' priest."

In this connection we are met with a curious idea that both the parties in a combat call upon the same gods for assistance, but the gods go to one party whom they want to favour; and the other party meets with a crushing defeat. "The men of both the hosts invoked you in the fight, इन्द्र and वरुण, that they might win the wealth, what ttme ye helped सुदास् with all the तृत्सु folk, when the ten kings had pressed him down in their attack." The same idea is seen with regard to sacrifices, where also the priest always prays to the god thus—" Come to our prayers. O इंद्र, thou who knowest ; let thy steeds be yoked and guided hither; men of all kinds, indeed, invoke thee: still give thy ear to our prayers only. O all-impeller."[1] Thus the question arises, were the gods not able to be present at all sacrifices simultaneously ? – I think the following verse answers the question: "With Soma, they brought Indra from a distance, over Vaiśanta, from the strong libation ; Indra preferred वसिष्ठs to the soma pressed by पाशद्युम्न, यायत."[2]

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[1] Boomfield, *Religion of the Veda*, p. 184,

What is meant by all this is that a righteous sincere prayer and a rich offering persuaded the gods to attend and bring success with them. Tbe spiritual conception that he who has Faith and God on his side has also success or victory with him, seems to be present here, and we need not trouble ourselves with such questions as whether the Vedic gods had personal forms or not and if they had them, how they could be present at ali the sacrifices simultaneously —questions which occupied later theologians and even the author of the निरुक्त.

Thus, we see that the patrons or princes, for whom the priests conducted the sacrifices, found themselves between

1. RV, VII, 28, 1,
2, RV, VII, 33, 2,

two exacting agencies. On the one hand, there were the gods to whom they were to make rich offreings: on the other hand, there were the priests to whom they were to give fees and gifts. The दानस्तुतिs or praises of the liberal gifts conferred by certain rich patrons on priests distinctly point to this fact.

Another trait which strikes us is that the Vedic religion is a religion of the upper classes. The religion of the Rigveda presupposes an established household of considerable extent; a wealthy and liberal householder, elaborate and expensive materials, and many priests, not at all shamefaced about their fees. It is to be distinguished from the papular religion, the religion of the poor, with its humble rites and its childish reliance upon sorcery and the medicine man, which is the religion of the अथर्ववेद and the गृह्यसूत्रs.

The great object which the worshippers or householders would secure is not immortality or Heaven, but a long life for full handred years, prosperity, warlike offspring, in short, all pleasures of this earth. Conquest of enemies, freedom from diseases, abundance of food and drink seem to be the happiest ideal which the Vedic ऋषिs placed before themselves. "अग्नि, bestow upon our chiefs and nobles that famous power, that wealth which feedeth many", says वसिष्ठ (VII. 5. 9). "With precious things, oh Indra, thus content us; may we attain to thy exalted favour. Send our chiefs plenteous food with heroic children. Preserve us evermore, ye gods with blessings', (VII. 24. 6). "A hundred autumns may we see that bright eye, beneficent to gods, arise; a hundred autumns may we live" (VII. 67. 16.)

A spirit of healthy joy in the life we live seems to pervade the Rigveda. It is only in very rare instances that immortality or dwelling with gods in heaven is referred to. Thus in VII. 57.6, we have, ददात नो अमृतस्य प्रजायै "give us of अमृत for the sake of the offspring." But even here we are not certain of what the word अमृत means. Roth explains the line to mean "Add us to the number of the people of eternity (*i. e.* to the blessed):" But सायण takes the word to mean nothing more than 'water'; while Grassman takes it to mean 'long life' only. Similarly in VII. 76.4, we have: "They were the god's companions at the banquet, the ancient sages true to law eternal. The fathers found the light that lay in darkness, and with effectual words begot the dawn." Thus here the ancestors of the ऋषिs are spoken of as being associated with the gods as companions and friends; cf. also I. 154. 5. The last verse of VII. 59 also contains a prayer "so may I be released from death, not reft of immortality." But the character of the verse is highly suspicious and the verse also occurs in वाजसनेयी संहिता 6. 30. Thus in the Rigveda there are no indications whatsoever of the later doctrine of निवृत्ति or Renunciation. The Vedic Religion is essentially optimistic.

The hymns of the Rigveda are all praises and prayers addressed to gods who are personifications of the powers of nature, fact which has greatly contributed to give a poetic colouring to them. The early dawn, the bright rising sun, continue to fill the Vedic ऋषि with reverence and a sense of wonder, even after hundreds of years. since these natural forces were turned into gods. The singular interest and importance of the Vedic poetry and the Vedic religion lie in this fact that these priest-poets, in their heart of hearts, are not mere technicians, but keen observers of the great facts and acts of nature, and worshippers of the powers whom they fancy at work in nature: and that in spite of the plenty of time which was more than enough to have stiffened all nature-worship into mere admiration, fear and adulation of personal gods, they had not in general become forgetful of the forces in nature from which the gods sprang. "Its fiercely glowing sun, its terrible yet life-giving monsoons, the snow-mountain giants of the north and its bewilderingly profuse vegetation could hardly fail to keep obtruding themselves as a revelation of the powers of the already existing gods."[1] Though the Vedic ऋषिs had made a great deal of advance in their spiritual conceptions and cannot be regarded as primitive barbarians, still, all through this advancement, we cannot lose sight of the first touch of nature. In their conception of सवितृ, इन्द्र and वरुण and of other gods, though the personification has advanced, no doubt, to an extent sometimes quite sufficient to make distinct personal gods of them, still we can see through these gods and glimpse the original from which they sprang. It is this transparency of the Vedic pantheon, which is a most surprising phenomenon. What may be called arrested personification is the very genius of the religion of the Rigveda.[2] To take one instance, the god सवितृ is described thus: through the dusky firmament advancing, laying to rest the immortal and the mortal, borne in his golden chariot, सवितृ cometh, who looks on every creature."[3] So also the various myths con-

1. Bloomfield, *op, cit,* p- 82-
2: Bloomfield: *op- cit,-* p- 85.
3- RV- I- 35- 2-

nected with इन्द्र, in the form in which they are found in the hymns of the Rigveda are quite transparent and their origin in natural phenomena can be clearly seen. Thus, as the ऋषिs of the Rigveda work their way slowly from the single and separate gods in the Rigveda to the later conception of the absolute One Being, they, all this while, with all their too human sordidness and all their natural fancifulness seem to see the great realities of the world with their eyes wide open, whether it be the single and separate manifestations of nature as in the Rigveda, or nature as a whole as in later books. The hymns of the Rigveda most clearly teach the fact that mythology, properly speaking, "is the first and fundamental adjustment of the individual human life to the outer active. interfering, dynamic world, which surrounds and infiuences man from the moment when he opens his eyes upon the wonders of its nnexplained phenomena."[1]

This arresting of personification in the Rigveda may be best realized by the student by recalling another mythology, that of the Greeks. This is also based upon nature, but nature is soon forgotten, or if not entirely forgotten, much obscured by after-born movements. The personification there is complete. Thus, Zeus whose eye sees all and knows all, who is the beginning, the middle, on whom all is founded, is at the same time, the flippant, breezy Jove to whom the poets ascribe foibles and vices barely excusable in a modern roué. Homicide without end, parricide and murder of children, are the stock events of their mythology. Thus we have a complete humanization in Greek mythology. As opposed to this. many gods of the Veda are scarcely more than half persons, their other half being an active force of nature.

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[1] **Bloomfield** ***op, cit,*****p. 82.**

What has been said so far about the gods of the Rigveda is, of course, generally true. For, there are a few cases such as the personification of the doors of the sacrificial chamber, of the sacrificial post, of the chariot and so on. But these are only exceptions and do not belong to the Rigveda proper.

One more trait of the Vedic Religion I have to notice before I leave this part of the subject and proceed to the consideration of the individual gods. It is called Henotheism or Kathenotheism by some scholars. It consists in the tendency to raise the particular god to whom you are addressing prayers for the time being, to the most exalted position.[1] This is done for most of the gods in turn. "The god in question, alone, is present to the mind of the singer; with him for the time being is associated everything that can be said of a divine being; he is the highest, the only god, before whom all others disappear, there being in this, however, no offence or depreciation of any other god.',[2] Thus often times, it is not possible to distinguish one god from another owing to the similarity of attributes, though there can be marked out some attributes and functions which are distinctly characteristic of this or that god.

The gods may be divided into three classes according to the regions or worlds they occupy. यास्क says: "The Etymologists opine that there are only three deities: अग्नि on the earth, वायु or Indra in the अन्तरिक्ष or mid-air and सूर्य in heaven. One and the same deity is called by several names, owing to the wondrous or miraculous powers which it possesses or because of the different functions it has to perform, corresponding to which it receives the different names. Or (it may be held) that there are as many different deities as there are names, because there are as many different prayers." यास्क further discusses the question regarding the form of these gods (अथ आकारचिन्तनं देवतानाम्) in the course of which he states three difierent views, viz. that the gods have human forms, that they have not human forms, and lastly that they have partly human forms and partly not. This very fact is a further proof in favour of the arrested personfication spoken of above. Before I proceed to point out the special attributes and functions of each god individually, I have to notice one fact and it is that the gods of the Rigveda substantially differ from those of the later पुराणs. It is, no doubt, a very interesting subject to trace the character of every god from the times of the Rigveda down to the latest mythological works and to mark the differences which correspond to the different stages in the history of the Indian mind. Not only have the characters of the gods changed even so for as to make recognition difficult but their mutual relations also have been altered immensely and he who was a very prominent and dominating god in the Veda has been reduced to the remark of a minor deity in the पुराणs, and *vice versa*. Thus, Agni and Indra stand out most prominently in the Rigveda, and their importance is not shared by any other god; but in the पुराणs, if they have not paled down into utter insignificance, at least they have been reduced to a comparative subordination, by the side of the triad, that has put every other god in the background though, no doubt, Indra continues to hold his position as a suzerain amongst the thirty-three gods. The same is more strikingly true of वरुण, who in the Rigveda is the god of justice, as it were, the lord in the moral domain, who watches the conduct of men and punishes them, but who, in the पुराणs, is merely a deity presiding over water, to whom no significance is attached whatsoever. On the other hand, विष्णु illustrates the opposite phase of rising to prominence from a position of comparative insignificance.

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[1] Contrast Zimmermann. *A second selection of hymns from the Rigveda*, 2nd edition, pp. LXXI. ff.—V. S. S.

[2] Kaegi *op. cit.* p. 33.

Moreover some new gods have found a place in the पुराणs who were not at all known to the Rigveda. Thus ब्रह्मदेव and शंकर, लक्ष्मी and पार्वती, कुबेर and दत्तात्रेय, are figures not at all known to the Rigveda. On the other hand, उषस् and पर्जन्य, भग and अर्यमन्, have ceased to exist as deities, not to mention the fact that सवितृ, पूषन्, मित्र, सूर्य, who are so many different godheads whith distinguishing characteristics, have later on come to be mere synonyms, all signifying but one god.

The god that stands out most prominently in the whole of the Vedic pantheon, is Agni, only second to Indra in point of the number of hymns addressed. Agni, is a most striking instance of what I have above referred to as arrested personification. अग्नि is both an elemental phenomenon, and a personal god. Though the word अग्नि is Indo-European, in as much as Latin has *ignis*, Lithuanian has *ugnis*, old Slavonic *ogni*, still. god Agni, with all the diverse shapes it possesses, is in every essential a product of the poet-priests of the Rigveda.

Agni is spoken of under three forms, the Fire on earth, the Lightning in the atmosphere, and the Sun in the heaven. Agni is generated from the अराणेs (the sacred fire-sticks) which are often described as the mothers: cf. VII. 1. 1 and VII. 3. 9. He is also described as being generated by Indra between two clouds or produced from waters. He is very frequently described as the son of strength (सहस:सूनु:,ऊर्जो नपात्) and so on, perhaps because of the strength or powerful exertion required for rubbing together the two sticks before fire is generated by friction therefrom.[1] Though Agni is none but the fire enkindled in every house every day, still its household aspect is not at all present to the mind of the Vedic ऋषिs. It is only the cosmic and ritualistic aspects that are mainly dealt with. अग्नि dispels darkness, frightens away the demons of the night, and heralds light :

> यो अपाचीने तमसि मदन्तीः ।
> प्राचीश्चकार नृतमः शचीभिः ॥ VII, 6. 4.

अग्नि is very young, because he is kindled fresh every morning. He begins the sacrificial day. He is the oldest, priest, is fed with ghee and rises into flames. He issues from the trees which he consumes, thus he is the eater of his mothers. He is bright-jawed (शुचिदम्), with a head of light (तपुर्मूर्द्धा). with a face of ghee (घृतप्रतीक), the lord of the people (विश्पति VII. 15. 7), the lord of the house (गृहपति VII. 19. 2). He is the immortal domestic priest, concentrating in his own person all the sacrificial offices (VII. 16. 5). Not only is he the arch-priest, he is also the arch-sage (कवि VII. 15. 2). कविक्रतु and so on. Then the lead from an arch-priest and an arch-sage to a godhead is not difficult. He is

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1. Bloomfield, *op, cit*, p- 159,

the great god who is the messenger between gods and men. He hastens with his steeds and is often asked by the worshippers to bring the gods to the sacrifices or to convey the offerings to them :

प्रियं चेतिष्ठमरातिं स्वध्वरं ।
विश्वस्य दूतममृतम् ॥ VII. 16 1.

Not only does Agni perform an important function from the sacrificial point of view, he also drives the दस्युs in the jungles and brings great booty to the Aryans (VII. 6. 3.)

अग्नि is connected with the आङ्गिरस, who are often described as the seven priests who brought down अग्नि from the heavens or first enkindled him for man. In this connection must be also noticed मातरिश्वन्, a semi-divine being who like the Greek Prometheus was the first to introduce अग्नि to men on the earth. This entity may be nothing more than the fire of lightning generated from the clouds,[1] and striking trees and plants, whose germ अग्नि is often described to be given out when they catch fire.

Thus, we see that अग्नि is cosmic, ritualistic and divine, through all these stages, however, retaining its elemental or natural character. There is one myth connected with अग्नि which has been later developed into a neat story, by the पुराणs. The function of carrying the oblations to gods was solely अग्नि's, so that it so happened that it became impossible for the gods to subsist without him. अग्नि however, got tired of his work of serving gods and men and concealed himself in the waters. But the god यम discovered and betrayed him and वरुण as the spokesman of the gods, at last

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1. Contrast Zimmermann, *cp. cit.* P. CXVII, f.—V. S. S.

induced अग्नि to resume his task of expediting the sacrifices to the gods. For this I may refer the student to hymns 51 and 52 of the 10th मण्डल. This has been turned into a very neat story in the महाभारत.[1]

The next important god is Indra, to whom the largest number of hymns in the Rigveda is addressed, almost one-fourth of the total number of hymns. It is not possible to say exactly what phenomenon of nature is represented by this god, because so many personal attributes are ascribed to him that we cannot easily pierce through the god's personality. Thus he is on opaque god, as compared with the transparent अग्नि. Indra's name, however, occurs in the Avesta as Andra where he is degraded to the status of a demon. But his chief vedic epithet वृंत्रहन् is the same as that of the abstract genius of Victory Verethraghna in the Avesta, and the Armenian dragon-slayer Vahagn.[2] १ठ

We may briefly sum up the attributes of the Vedic Indra as follows. Indra is born of the Heaven and the Earth (VII.20.5), and he drank सोम as soon as he was born (VII.98.3): Indra is ancient, youthful, strong, agile, matrial, undecaying, all-conquering, lord of unboundcd wisdom and of irresistible power. He has a beautiful chin, wears a beautiful helmet (सुशिप्र), has golden arms (हिरण्युबाहु, VII. 34. 4), a golden chariot, with green steeds (हरिताश्व). His horses are yoked by the power of prayers; his weapon is the thunderbolt; no one can equal him in his fondness for drinking Soma. Exhilarated by Soma, he slays the enemies and

जज्ञान; सोमं मद
पपाथ.

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[1] See Vanaparva Adh, 224; Salya, Adh, 48. verses 16 to 22,

[2] Bloomfield, *op. cit*, p, 176.

इन्द्राविष्णू दृंहिताः शम्बरस्य नव पुरो नवतिं च श्नथिष्टम्
शतं वर्चिनः सहस्रं च साकं हथो अप्रत्यसुरस्य वीरान् ७.९९.५

demons (VII. 22. 1.2 and VII. 29.1). At a single draught he drank the contents of thirty pails that were filled with Soma juice (VIII.77. 4).[1] एकया प्रतिधा पिबत् साकं सरांसि त्रिंशतम् ।

In the company of विष्णु, he encounters the hostile demons variously called by the names of वृत्र, अहि, शुष्ण, नमुचि, शंबर, who shut up waters, he slayes them and liberates the waters (VII. 99. 4 and 5). He breaks the cities of the Asuras (पुरंदर). Heaven and earth quake at she crash of his thunder. Indra is a terrible warrior, a gracious friend, a god whose shafts deal destruction to his enemies, while they bring deliverance and prosperity to his worshippers (VII.27. 3; 37. 3; 31. 6.). He is the most fatherly of fathers, has love and sympathy for mortals (VII. 23. 5). He controls the destinies of men, he is the enemy of the irreligious, a destroyer of the Dasyus and a protector of the Aryas.

Three traits stand out most prominently from amongst the highest divine functions and attributes of Indra. First, he is the god of physical power and dominion over the external world and he is not generally associated with the spiritual elevation and moral grandeur which is specially discernible in. वरुण. "The coarse grain and the fleshiness of his character arrest very unfavourable attention. Indra embodies so completely the human qualities of brag and bluster, gluttony, drunkeness and lust, as to make him the peg upon which to hang scepticism."[2]

The second trait closely associated with this, is that Indra appears all through as the national hero of the invading

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[1] Cf, Narukta, V. 11 and the various interpretations of the fact given there Also R. V, X, 119 which graphically describes the bragging of Indra under the influence of Soma,

[2] Bloomfield: *op- cit,*- p- 174.

पर्वत शिश्रियाणं त्वष्टास्मै वज्रं स्वर्यं ततक्ष ।
वाश्रा इव धेनवः स्यन्दमाना अञ्जः समुद्रमव जग्मुरापः ॥ 1.32

आर्यs in their struggles against the dark-complexioned दस्युs whom they had to overcome and drive before them. VII. 18 and 32 are good illustrations of this idea. Indra's godhood is invoked not only in connection with the extermination of the दस्युs, but even in the case of mutual wars amongst the different clans. He is called the Lord of Strength, with whom heroic deeds are associated.

The third point to be noticed is his exploit over वृत्र. The second verse of I. 32 runs thus: " He slew the dragon who lay upon the mountain. God त्वष्टृ forged for him his heavenly club. Like roaring cattle, down came the waters, flowing swiftly to the sea." The same feat is eulogised in verses 6 and 7 of that hymn. Now what is meant by this slaughter of वृत्र by Indra ? Who is वृत्र ? Who is Indra ? What are these waters which were compassed by वृत्र and which were afterwards liberated by इन्द्र ?

Several theories have been proposed to explain the symbolism. Even the Nirukta contains more than one explanation. According to Nirukta II. 15 the credit of suggesting the Storm-theory must be given to the school of the Nairuktas. According to this storm theory, वृत्र is the malignant, evil spirit viz. the cloud which has held fast the waters towards the end of the summer and the advent of the rainy season and Indra is none but the god of rain, who pierces through the cloud and causes the waters to flow forth and come down in showers. In this interpretation the पर्वत or गिरि into which the waters were confined has to be understood as a cloud. There are other places also in the Rigveda, where the word पर्वत is generally understood to be a cloud, *e. g.* I. 19. 7 य ईङ्खयन्ति पर्वतान् तिरः समुद्रमर्णवम् where the

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अर्णव समुद्र is nothing but the अन्तरिक्ष, *i. e.* the middle world between पृथिवी on the one hand and द्यौः on the other ; and पर्वत is the cloud. सायण also takes here पर्वताम् = मेघान्. On this Max Mūller notes that "in old Norse *klakkr* means both cloud and rock ; nay, the English word cloud itself has been indentified with the Anglo-Saxon *clud*, rock." This storm-thoery is followed by most of the Western scholars including Max Müller. But there are several objections to it.

Generally, wherever this exploit over वृत्र is mentioned several other things are associated with it. Let us take the typical verse where it is stated that Indra, the dragon-slayer set in motion the flood of waters of the sea, generated the sun and found the cows (II. 19. 3). Now all these three phenomena connot be accounted for by the above theory. 2. So the dawn theory is put forth. Indra is the sun exterminating nocturnal darkness and pouring floods of light for the world of living beings. The rays of the sun may be the cows. This, however, only explains a part ; and "there appears to be a confusion" says Macdonell "between the notion of the restoration of the sun after the darkness of the thunderstorm and the recovery of the sun from the darkness of the night at dawn",[1] which is nothing but admitting our inability to explain the myth satisfactorily.

Besides there may be raised several other objections against the storm and dawn-theory. Thus the fact that there is in the Veda another god पर्जन्य, the real storm and rain god, throws suspicion over Indra as the god of storm and rain. Moreover, in several places it is distinctly stated

[1] Macdonell, *op, cit*, p. 61.

that Indra caused the rivers to flow to the sea from the mountains which were cleft by him. Now, sufficient reasons have not been pointed out why पर्वत should mean 'a cloud' and rivers 'the flow of rain.'

Thus a third theory is proposed by Hillebrandt.[1] According to this theory, the waters are those of rivers and mountain-streams: their confiner is the frozen winter, when the rivers are at their lowest level,—conceived as a winter-monster by the name of वृत्र or the confiner, who holds captive the rivers on the heights of glacier-mountains; and thus Indra is no other than the spring or summer sun, who frees them from the clutches of the winter-dragon. This may be called, for convenience's sake, the Vernal theory.[2] 3 But this phenomenon would be worth the name, only in extremely northern countries, so as to be represented by the fierce and obstinate contest between Indra and वृत्र, as described in the Rigveda.

But against all these theories there obtrudes one passage. II. 12. 11—

यः शंबरं पर्वतेषु क्षियन्तं चत्वारिंश्यां शरद्यन्वविन्दत् ।
ओजायमानं यो अहिं जघान दानुं शयानं स जनास इन्द्र ॥

Here it is said that Indra found out the demon lying in the mountains, and the time of the commencement of the contest is evidently given in the words चत्वारिंश्यां शरद्, which has been so far translated by Vedic scholars as 'in the fortieth year'. That शरद् may mean 'a year', since the year began with the शरद् season in Vedic times as is proved from several indications, we need not question. That the construction according to which चत्वरिंश्यां is adj. loc. sing. of the ordinal, qualifying शरदि, which is a word of the feminine gender, is grammatically unobjectionable, goes without saying. But no one has explained what is meant by the fortieth year or fortieth autumn. Does it mean that the phenomenon represented by the वृत्र myth, took place once in forty years? The suggestions that the passage may refer to a famine or drought that occurred after forty years or that it may represent a forty years' war between the Aryans protected by इन्द्र, and शंबर, the chief of the aboriginal races dwelling on the mountains, have to be dismissed as being too far-fetched, and imaginary.

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[1] Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*- Vol. III. p. 157. (See also now Zimmermann. *op. cit* pp. CV.ff—V. S S.)

[2] Bloomfield *op, cit*, p. 179.

Hence a new interpretation is put on the myth by Mr. B. G. Tilak, based on his theory of the reminiscences of the Arctic Home of the Aryans in the Rigveda.[1] According to this interpretation, the passage refers to the annual struggle between light and darkness, because in the polar or cricumpolar regions there is the long night of six months and the long day of six months, of course having a comparatively long twilight at both ends. The waters are the cosmic waters which were supposed to surround the earth just like ether, in the world of light above and the world of darkness below; which caused the sun, the moon, and the stars to move with them. If these waters therefore ceased to flow, the consequences would be very serious; for the sun, the moon, the stars, would then all cease to rise and the world would be plunged in darkness. Thus we can fully understand the magnitude of the mischief worked by वृत्र by stopping the flow of these waters.[1] The mountains into which these waters were put up may be some metaphorical mountains supposed to exist on the border of the nether world and this earth, just as, for instance, the sun is supposed to rise from the Meru mountain. Thus the conflict with वृत्र commenced in शरद्, the beginning of the long night, and ended at the end of the night or the year: cf. X. 62. 2 [illegible] where the Angirases, the assistants of Indra in his conquest of the cows, are said to have defeated Vala, at the end of the year (परिवत्सरे). I may sum up the interpretation in the words of the author himself thus:—[2] "If Indra is described as the leader or releaser of waters (अपां नेता cr अपां स्रष्टा), the waters do not mean the waters in the clouds but the waters or the watery vapours which fill the universe and form the material out of which the latter was created. In other words the conquest over waters was something far more marvellous and cosmic in character than the mere breaking up of the clouds in the rainy season; and under these circumstances, it was naturally considered to be the greatest of Indra's exploits, when, invigorated by a hundred nightly Soma-sacrifices, he slew with ice the watery demon of darkness shattered his hundred autumnal forts, released the waters of the seven rivers upstream to go along their ærial way, and brought out the sun and the dawn, or the cows from their place of confinement inside the rocky caves where they had stood still since the date of the war."[1]

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[1] J. D. Nadirshah (*Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference*, Poona. pp. 84 ff.) adds one more name, Airyana Vaejo, to the long list of places which are believed by different scholars to have been the home of the Early Aryans. —V. S. S.

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[1] Tilak, *Arctic Home*, p. 269.

[2] Ibid p. 295

LECTURE IX

RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY OF THE RIGVEDA.

(*Continued*)

वरुण associated with the spiritual domain—The preserver of ऋत or moral order—the three aspects of ऋत-मित्र and वरुण, अहुर and मित्र-Greek Ouranos-वरुण a god of water—The अश्विन्s— their mythical and legendary character--marriage of सूर्या-Legends explained by the dawn and spring theories—the Arctic theory-Their comparative insignificance in later mythology--the five solar gods--सवितृ the enlivening aspect of the sun-सूर्य, the luminary-मित्र, the Beneficent—पूषन्, the god of paths--विष्णु-his three strides--various interpretations of the same--the name शिपिविष्ट-उषस्. the most graceful creation of Vedic poetry--The long and many dawns-VII, 76. 3--The philosophy of the Rigveda--The progress from many gods to one I 164.—Ideas about death and the world hereafter—X. 121.—X. 90--the creation hymn--Absence of pessimism.

Next we proceed to consider वरुण, who is purely a Vedic god, i. e. a god occupying a very prominent place in the Rigveda but reduced to absolute insignificance in later mythology. The sphere of वरुण is quite opposed to that of इन्द्र. The latter is associated with the domain of physical valour and command of external nature, but the former is principally concerned with the spiritual domain. Thus in the hymn VII. 83 addressed to इन्द्र and वरुण conjointly, we have in verse 9 the functions of Indra and वरण mentioned side by side, so as to bring out the contrast clearly:

वृत्राण्यन्यः समिथेषु जिघ्नते व्रतान्यन्यो अभिरक्षते सदा ।

Moral elevation and sanctity are the principal attributes of वरुण. Omniscience and undeceivableness are frequently ascribed to वरुण. वरुण stands out as the god of justice, watching the conduct of all people and setting his spies everywhere for the purpose. He controls the destinies of mankind, and beholds all the secret things, that have been and will be done. He seizes and punishes transgressors with his bonds or nooses; he is a barrier against the irreligious and the wicked; sinning mortals can hardly expect to escape him (V11. 75. 3). He watches or witnesses the truth and falsehood of people: सत्यानृते अवपश्यन् जनानाम् (V11.49.3). His laws and ordinances are inviolable and we see the worshipper often approaching वरुण in a suppliant attitude pleading innocence and putting forth excuses for the sins and entreating him to show mercy, full of a contrite spirit as he is. With all the awe and reverence which वरुण commands and inspires, there is at the same time, the element of homeliness and mercy; and the relations between वरुण and his worshipper are often described as being very intimate. The worshipper is often likend to a little child committing offences through ignorance or temptation too strong for its weak and puerile nature and again obstinately asking for indulgence at the hands of the parent *i. e.* वरुण.

The hymn VII. 86 is a typical hymn in this connection, for it depicts वरुण as a guardian of moral order, angry at the misdeeds of men.

वरुण is visible to the mental eye of his worshippers (VII. 88. 2). He is mighty and fixed in purpose, arrayed in a golden mail, surrounded by his messengers. His house has a thousand doors (VII. 88. 5), he is foresighted and thousand-eyed (VII. 34. 10): he has the sun for his eye (VII. 66, 10); he is the king of all that exists (VII. 87. 6), a universal monarch, a self-dependent ruler. Power, martial strength and sovereign authority are also spoken of as belonging to वरुण. He is called असुर (mighty), मायिन्, (VII,28. 4). possessed of a mystic or miraculous power; वरुण is a god of illimitable resources and knowledge.

Here may be considered the meaning of the word ऋत in the Rigveda. वरुण is always spoken of as the preserver of ऋत or as the spring of ऋत (11. 28. 5 खा ऋतस्न). This word ऋत in the Rigveda itself seems to denote three ideas, all allied to each other or one idea under three aspects owing to the difference of domains.

First of all ऋत represents the cosmic order.'[1] ऋत rules the world and nature. The regular recurrence of the natural phenomena, the rising and setting of the sun, the coming of dawns and so on are all regulated by ऋत. The gods themselves are dessribed as born of the ऋत, as observing and loving ऋत (ऋतजात, ऋतश, ऋतयु, ऋतवान् VII.87.1).

From this ऋत comes to denote the correctness and regularity of the cult of god-worship or sacrifice. There is some principle which guides and regulates the different aspects of the sacrifice, the coming of gods, the offering of oblations and so on, and that is ऋत. Thus the sacrifices are described as conducted by ऋत, as opposed to the magic rites and acts of witchcraft which may be, therefore, called अनृत.

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1. See Bloomfield *op- cit*, 126, 129.

Last comes the third phase in the domain of the moral conduct of man. The moral law which every righteous man must observe—it is the chief function of वरुण to see that it is observed—is called ऋत, which may be us paraphrased by सत्य, and अनृत would then mean असत्य.

Though the world of वरुण is chiefly the moral world still no mean exploits in the world of nature are ascribed to him. वरुण fashioned and upholds heaven and earth (VII.86 1: VII. 87. 5; VII. 87. 6). He made the sun to shine and followed out channels for rivers. He knew the flight of birds in the sky, the path of ships on the ocean and the course of the far-travelling wind.

वरुण is very frequently associated with मित्र and there are several hymns in the Rigveda where मित्र and वरुण are addressed together (VII. 64 &65). मित्र is of course the sun in his beneficent aspect, the god of day or light, and what can वरुण be but the god of darkness or night? Thus while commenting on VII. 87. 1 सायण remarks :

अस्तं गच्छन् सूर्य एव वरुण इत्युच्यते ।
स हि स्वगमनेन रात्रीर्जनयति ।।

It is this very association of मित्र and वरुण, which has led Oldenberg to conjecture that वरुण should be the moon in contrast with मित्र who is the sun.

But according to most scholars, वरुण is connected with the chief, good and wise god of the Zoroastrian faith viz. Ahura Mazdā or Ormazdā,' wise lord'. One reason for this connection, if not identification, is that Ahura is an exact phonetic equivalent of Asura, a title frequently applied to वरुण, though it must be remembered that many other gods in the Rigveda are likewise called 'Asura' (lit. strong).[1] The second and convincing reason is the dual partnership of Ahura and Mithra in the Avesta, which exactly corresponds to that of मित्र and वरुण in the Veda. Besides, the attributes and functions of Ahura Mazdā are very similar to those of वरुण. Thus in the Zoroastrian system, Ahura Mazdā rules the world and assigns to all good creatures and entities their respective places and activities. Ahura creates the divine order.[2] He made a way for the sun and the stars. As a guardian of divine order Ahura is not to be deceived and so on. This is enough to establish the great similarity between Ahura Mazdā and वरुण

वरुण, however, belongs not only to the Indo-Iranian period,[3] but to the Indo-European period, inasmuch as वरुण corresponds to the Greek *Ouranos*. on whose testimony वरुण should represent probably the encompassing sky. Thus in VIII. 41. 3 वरुण is described as embracing the universe. वरुण may be derived from the root वृ to cover and thus may mean the sky that covers or pervades all.

1, The meanings of *asura* has been discusaed in detail by Rajwade in the *Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference*, Poons, pp,1 ff—V. S S.

2, Vedic ऋत is the phonetic equivalent of an (Old,) Iranian word (transcribed in the defective orthography of the Avesta as) Asha, (Old.). Persian Arta, which latter appears as early as B.C. 600 in Iranian royal names; moreover, Ahura is called Ashahe Khao. which corresponds exactly to खा ऋतस्य which latter is an epithet of वरुण in the Veda—V. S. S.

3, Worthy of notice is also the mention of the Vedic gods मित्र, वरुण, इन्द्र and the नासत्यs in the Boghaz-koi cuneiform tablets discovered in Asia Minor. — V. S. S.

One more point I would touch before leaving the subject of वरुण, and it is his later conception as a god of water. No doubt, वरुण, is connected with water even in the Rigveda. In VII. 87. 1 वरुण has not only cut ont a pathway for the sun, but has led the watery floods of rivers onwards. In VII. 64 2 मित्र and वरुण are called सिन्धुपती, ' lords of rivers. ' In VII. 49. 3 वरुण is described as the sovereign of waters, going amidst them. This connection with water (which really is only one particular aspect or manifestation of the ऋत of which वरुण is the lord), may have probably led to the later conception in the पुराणs and even सायण calls him जलाभिमानिनी देवता while commenting on VIII. 58. 2, though generally he regards वरुण as the god of night. "When on the one hand, the conceptiou of वरुण as the all-embracing heaven had been established, and on the other hand. the observation of the rivers flowing towards the ends of the earth, and to the sea had led to the conjecture that there existed an ocean enclosing the earth iu its bosom,[1] then the way was thorougly prepared for connecting वरुण with the ocean, in later mythology".[2]

Next we come to the pair of gods, the अश्विन्s (horsemen). Hymns 67 to 74 of the seventh मण्डल are all addressed to these gods. The character of these two deities is, however, very little defined, though they are, no doubt, an object of fervent worship. They are the sons of विवस्वत् and सरण्यु. They are often called 'sons of heaven' (दिवो नपाता. They are physicians, asked to neglect the calls of other devotees and pass from house to house partaking of Soma. They come from a distance in a golden chariot, drawn by birds or bird-like horses. They are ancient, beautiful, bright, swifter than thought, possessed of wisdom and intelligence.

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[1] Or it may be the ocean of ærial waters which made the sun and the moon to move to rise and to set.

[2] Muir, *op cit.* vol 5.

[3] Their name implies only possession of horses —V.S.S.

Of all the Vedic divinities the अश्विन्s have the most pronounced mythical and legendary character. A maiden by the name of सूर्या (i.e. daughter of the sun) is captivated by the youthful beauty of the अश्विन्s chooses them for her husbands and ascends their chariot. The most prominent characteristic of the अश्विन्s is, however, that they are the most reliable helpers in need. All sorts of men and women have appealed to them for aid and have not been disappointed. The अश्विन्s had made themselves so familiar with men that the gods had refused to admit them to a share in the sacrifice. This fact has led some people to conjecture that these अश्विन्s must have been two heroes of wondrous exploits and of unparalleled beneficent activity, so much so that they were afterwards deified and became the recipients of most hearty praise.

It is of interest to know what यास्क thinks of them. In the beginning of Ch. 12 he says: "Some say that they are the heaven and earth; others, day and night; others again, the sun and the moon." (All these are explanations according to the Nairukta school or the Naturalists.) The ऐतिहासिक (Traditionalists) say that they are two kings of virtuous deeds. यास्क also remarks that their time is the hour between midnight and early dawn.

As said above, it is not easy to define exactly their character from the epithets applied to them. But let us see if we derive any help in this from a consideration of the several legends connected with them. They have been all briefly summarized in the following extract from Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology* (§ 21), which I quote here for convenience.[1] "The sage Chyavana, grown old and deserted, they released from his decrepit body: they prolonged his life, restored him to youth, rendered him desirable to his wife and made him the husband of maidens (I. 116. 10 etc.) They also renewed the youth of the aged Kali (X.39.8)and befriended him when he had taken a wife (I. 112. 15.)... The story most often referred to is that of the rescue of भुज्यु son of तुग्र, who was abandoned in the midst of the acean (समुद्र) or in the water clouds (उदमेघे) and who tossed about in darkness invoked the aid of the youthful heroes. In the ocean which is without support they took him home in a hundred-oared ship...They rescued him with animated water-tight ships.. The sage रेभ, stabbed, bound, hidden by the malignant, overwhelmed in waters for ten nights and nine days, abandoned as dead, was by the अश्विन्s revived and drawn out as Soma is raised with a ladle. They delivered वन्दन from ...calamity and restored him to the light of the sun..They succoured the sage अत्रि सप्तावध्रि who .. was plunged in a burning pit by the wiles of a demon..and delivered him from darkness... They rescued from the jaws of a wolf a quail which invoked their aid. To ऋज्राश्व who had been blinded by his father for killing one hundred and one sheep and giving them to a she-wolf to devour, they restored his eyesight at the prayer of the she wolf (I. 116. 16; I. 117. 17. 18);

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[1] For अश्विन्s see especially hymns 112, 116, 117, 118 from the first मण्डल

and cured परावृज् of blindness and lameness (I. 112. 8). When विश्पला's leg had been cut off in the battle like the wing of a bird, the आश्विन् s gave her an iron one instead...... The cow of शयु, which had left off bearing they caused to give milk (I. 116. 22). They gave to पेदु a strong, stiff, dragon-slaying steed impelled by Indra, which won him unbounded spoils (I. 116. 6.)."

Now all these myths connected with the आश्विन्s have been explained on the Dawn and the Spring theories. Thus the recovery of the sun early in the morning from the darkness of the night, and the restoring of brightness to the sun in the spring, whose powers are mostly ineffectual in winter are the phenomena supposed to be referred to by these legends of restoring youth to an old man or curing the blindness of another. But these theories do not fully explain all the details connected with these legends. Thus, for instance, the places from which all the helpless persons are rescued are generally described as full of darkness, as being bottomless and watery (I. 182. 6); and the period of distress is generally spoken of as being 10 days or 10 days and 10 nights and so on. Besides the incident of ऋज्राश्व (I. 116. 16.) killing 100 sheep and therefore being rendered blind remains altogether without explanation. So also the hymn V. 78. referring to अत्रि सप्तवध्रि and especially its last three verses cannot be satisfactorily explained on the basis of the two theories proposed above.[1] Hence another theory, briefly called the Arctic theory, has been proposed, according to which all these legends refer to the long night and the long day. "The sun sunk in the nether world of waters and darkness and not merely a winter sun is the burden of all these legends, and the achievements of the Asvins refer to the rescue of the sun from the dark pit of the nether world or from the bottomless ocean of darkness"[1]

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[1] Comparative Mythology seems to favour the identification of the आश्विन्s with the Morning and Evening Stars, See Zimmermann, *op. dit* pp. XCII ff.—V.S.S.

The आश्विन्s and सूर्या have been identified or at least connected with the Greek Dioskouroi, the sons of Zeus, Castor and Pollux, and their sister Helena (which more resembles in sound, सरण्यु the mother of the अश्विन्s). The word अश्विन् means 'one having a horse'; but this connection with horses comes out more strongly with the Dioskouroi, who are celebrated tamers of horses, riders of horses, and charioteers. They also were revered as helpers in need and were called Anaktes, protecting lords.'[2]

Thus we see that the Vedic अश्विन्s combined the cosmical as well as historical and human characters in a most conspicuous way. In later mythology they occupy an insignificant position, being merely physicians possessed of great physical beauty. The legend of च्यवान referred to above has been transformed into a neat story in the महाभारत.[2]

Next we have to consider the five solar gods, सवितृ, सूर्य, मित्र, पूषन् and विष्णु. Though many of the attributes of these gods are very similar so as to make it difficult to distinguish one from another, still there are some distinctive functions peculiar to each of them and there is no doubt that in the Rigveda these are not mere synonyms, but distinct entities.

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[1] Tilak, *ArcticHome*, p. 319

[2]. Bloomfield, *op. cit.* p, 113, 114.

[3], About the birth of the आश्विनs and their relation to वासिष्ठ the extract from बृहद्देवता quoted by सायण in his commentary on VII. 72. 2.

सवितृ (lit. the impeller, enlivener) represents, in distinction from others, the enlivening or quickening aspect of the sun; see hymn IV 54, of which every verse contains some form of the root सु in its various meanings, reminding the reader of the essential connection between the god सवितृ and the meaning of the root present in it. सवितृ is good-complexioned, he ascends a golden car, beholds all creatures. This सवितृ is sometimes expressly distinguished from सूर्य; but sometimes they are spoken of indiscriminately. सायण says in one place that the sun is called सवितृ before rising, and सूर्य from sunrise to sunset. यास्क remarks: "The time of सवितृ's appearance is when darkness has been removed and the rays of light have become diffused over the sky."

सूर्य more refers to the luminary itself. He is the son of द्यौस and अदिति; his wife is उषस् (VII. 75. 5). In another place the dawns are said to produce him (VII, 78,3), He is drawn in a car by seven horses (VII. 63. 2); his path is prepared by the आदित्यs (VII. 60. 4); सूर्य is the preserver and soul of all things stationary and moving (VII. 60. 2); he is the vivifier of men (VII. 63. 2). He is far-seeing, he beholds the good and bad deeds of all mortal creatures, he is the eye of मित्र and वरुण. In many places, however, a dependent and subordinate position is assigned to सूर्य, and his divine personality is thrown into the background. The grand luminary becomes little more than a part of nature, created and controlled by those spiritual powers which exist above and beyond all material phenomena. The sun is thus one of the most transparent of gods; see especially I. 115.

मित्र was spoken of above as an associate of वरुण. He prominently represents the beneficent side of the Sun's power. मित्र stimulates people to acttvity, he holds fast the earth and heaven, he watches the people ceaselessly. Hymn III. 59 is specially addressed to मित्र alone, wherein चर्षणिधृत् and यातयज्जन are his distinctive epithets. It is to be noted that this is the only hymn addressed to मित्र alone, in the whole of the Rigveda. Elsewhere he is generally invoked along with वरुण. Thus it may be said that मित्र, though one of the oldest gods, owing to his identification with the Iranian Mithra, has lost his independent individuality in the Rigveda.

पूषन् is distinctly a shepherd god. " His chief claim to usefulness is that he knows the roadways; protects from their dangers such as wolves and robbers; guards cattle so that they be not dashed to pieces in the ravine; brings them home unhurt, when they have gone astray, and, in general, restores lost things. पूषन् drives the cows to pasture, .. he carries a goad and his car is drawn by goats,.. he lives on gruel. "[1] Hymns 53-56 of मण्डल VI may be read in this connection. This पूषन् also cannot be anything but a sun-god since he is also described as lord of all things that stand or move and he is also the lover of सुर्या. He is called आघृणि 'glowing:' so also his ability as a path-finder and restorer of lost things points to an over-seeing heavenly body.

विष्णु is another solar deity of the Rigveda. The entire hymns and the separate verses in which विष्णु is celebrated are much fewer than those dedicated to the praises of इन्द्र,

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[1] Bloomfield, *op. cit*, p. 170.

अग्नि, वरुण, अश्विन्s etc. Besides, in most of the passages referring to him. he is generally lauded along with a host of other divinities. From this it may be concluded that विष्णु was regarded in the Rigveda as being on a footing of equality with other gods, or even subordinate to many of them, though he forms one of the two great gods of modern Hinduism, sometimes being elevated to the highest place. The essential feature of his character is that he takes three strides covering the three worlds. शाकपूणि regards these three strides as three manifestations of one and the same god, as अग्नि on earth, as इन्द्र or वायु in the atmosphere and as the sun in heaven. और्णवाभ, on the other hand, interprets them as the rising, culminating and setting of the sun. Max Muller also interprets this myth as referring to the three stages in the daily course of the sun. In the ब्राह्मणs and later works, however, this feature is developed into the story of विष्णु appearing in the form of a dwarf and recovering the earth from the demons headed by Bali, by taking his three strides.

According to Tilak's theory, however, these three strides refer not to the daily course of the sun, but to the annual course when the year was divided, as at the circum-polar regions, into three parts, of which two parts or eight months, the sun was above the horizon and hence the two strides of विष्णु are spoken of as being visible; while the third part or four months, the sun went below the horizon into the nether world of darkness or of waters, providing continuous darkness, and thus the third stride is invisible. In I. 155. 6, विष्णु is described us setting into motion his ninety steeds with four names, which can only refer to the 360 days of the year with the four seasons. So also in VII. 99. 4 and 5, विष्णु is associated with इन्द्र, in the exploit over वृत्र, and विष्णु is described along with इन्द्र as generating the sun, the dawn, and अग्नि, and breaking the ninety-nine cities of शंखर–which points to the conclusion that the three strides of विष्णु should also refer to the annnual course of the sun, with the long day and long night.

With this interpretation, the meaning of the word शिपिविष्ट may be well explained. The verse VII. 100. 6 runs thus : "What was there to be blamed in thee when thou declaredst 'I am शिपिविष्ट ?' Do not conceal from us this form, since thou didst assume another shape in the battle." यास्क (Nir.V.7-9) proposes two interpretations:[1] शिपिविष्ट may mean शेप इव निर्वेष्टितः 'enveloped like the penis or with rays obscured (अप्रतिपन्नरश्मिः).' It may be a laudatory appellation also, meaning 'one whose rays (शिपयः) are displayed (आविष्टाः).'

शिपिविष्ट refers to the temporary obscuring of the rays of the sun when he entered into the nether world (रजसः पराके क्षियन्तं, VII, 100,5). "The poet, therefore, asks विष्णु not to be ashamed of this epithet because, says he, the form indicated by the bad name is only temporarily assumed as a dark armour for the purpose of fighting with the Asuras, and as it was no longer needed, विष्णु is invoked to reveal his true form to the worshipper".[2] Thus the story of बालि and वामन is the story of विष्णु going down to the nether world dark or diseased,[3] to plant his third step on the head of the Asuras.

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[1] Cf. Sarup, *op cit* p 772— V. S.S.

[2] Tilak, *Arctic Home*, p. 332

[3] शिविविष्ट indicated some bodily affliction or skin-disease, though what it was exactly is not known.

or in a dark armour to help Indra in his struggle for waters and light, a struggle which lasted for a long time and resulted in the flowing of waters, the recovery of the dawn, and the coming out of the sun in a bright armour, after a long and continuous darkness.

सायग generally derives विष्णु as व्यापनशलि, but Bloomfield has proposed a new etymology—वि+स्नु 'through the back' on the ground of a passage in the सामवेद (2. 1024):

यतो विष्णुर्विचक्रमे पृथिव्या अधि सानवि ।

'Vishnu strode through over the back of the earth.,'

Some other heroic acts are also attributed to विष्णु. He is said to have established heaven and earth, to have made the atmosphere wide, stretched out the worlds. His greatness is described in one place as having no limit within the ken of present or future beings. "In the highest stepping place of विष्णु there is the fount of honey" (I. 154, 5).

Nothing can surpass the beauty of the hymns addressed to the goddess उषस्:and as Macdonell remarks, this deity is the most graceful creation of Vedic Poetry, there being no more charming figure in the descriptive religious lyrics cf any other literature[1]. The seventh मण्डल contains seven hymns (75 to 81) out of the twenty hymns addressed to उषस् in the whole of the Rigveda. The freshness and sweetness about these poems is simply indescribable. While reading such verses as "Lo, the rich dawn casts, as it were, her garment from her and moves on, queen of the world: this beautiful and wonderful goddess brings heaven to life again and stretches to the ends of earth and sky" (III. 61. 4), we feel as if we are going to be held willing captives of a primitive Shelley or Keats.

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[1] Macdonell, *op. cit.* p. 46.

The dawn is the daughter of the sky, and sister of the night. The snn is her lover. The glorious mistress of the world is borne on a shining chariot. drawn by ruddy horses, like a richly dressed dancing girl, she goes on smiling and confiding in the irresistible power of her attractions, unveiling her bosom to the gaze of the beholder. She dispels darkness, disclosing the treasures she had concealed, illuminates the world, awakens the five races of men, she is young, being born again and again, yet old and immortal; she is the life and breath of all. Even in this most ecstatic piece of poetry concerning the dawn, the Vedic poet-priest cannot lay aside his trait of practicalness and the sacrifice-cult. The dawn is the herald of the sacrifice, with her appearance commences the sacrificial day, as it were, and she is often entreated to bring to the worshipper wealth, children, and slaves, to afford protection and to prolong life. The dawn is thus another instance of a transparent deity whose natural character is in no way obscured by personification.

Can it be the diurnal dawn, which could excite such ecstacy and rapture in the mind of the Vedic poet-priest ? Of course, every one is aware of the fresh and sweet influence of the early dawn, whioh may justify the poetic ecstacy, all that is said about her in the Veda. Bnt there are certain phrases and expressions which are used of her and which cannot be satisfactorily interpreted as referring to the daily dawn. The long, continuous dawns (VII. 76. 3; II 28. 9; VII. 9, 1; VII. 63. 3), which were so long that even the whole of the Rigveda could be recited before sunrise; the circular movement referred to (I. 123. 8 and 9; III. 61. 3; VII.80.1); the thirty parts of which they were made up (I.123.8; VI. 59. 6.) all these go to show that the dawns referred to must be longer dawns, seems only at the circumpolar regions.[1]

Before leaving this subject, we may consider the interpretation of the following verses in the seventh मण्डल, bearing upon the subject :[2]

तानीदहानि बहुलान्यासन् या प्राचीनसुदिता सूर्यस्य ।
यतः परि जार इवाचरन्ती उषो ददृक्षे न पुनर्यतीव ॥ VII.76.3

The verse means : "Those days were many which were aforetime at the rise of the sun and about which dawn, thou wast seen moving on, as towards a lover, and not like one who forsakes," which clearly establishes two facts that (1) many days passed between the appearance of the first morning beams and sunrise ; and that (2) those days were faithfully attended by the Dawn which is possible only in the case of the circumpolar dawn.

सायण explains the verse in a farfetched manner, not understanding how several days could pass before sunrise and hence proposes to take the word अहन् to mean उत:प्रकाशयुक्त-काल and तानि=splendours and वाहुलानि अहानि as accusative of time. Western scholars also take अहानि as splendours, lustres. Griffith translates "great is the number of mornings," but does not explain further. So also III. 61. 3 and VII. 80. 1. may deserve special consideration in this connection,

So far I have spoken of the mythology of the Rigveda. Before concluding, I should like to make a few remarks on the philosophy of the Rigveda.

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[1] Tilak, *Arctic Home* p. 103. 109.

[2] Tilak *ibid*. p. 88 ff

India is otfen spoken of as the cradle of philosophy. Nowhere are made so bold and daring attempts to solve the riddle of the universe as in India, where there lived kings like जनक and अजातशत्रु, ब्राह्मणs like याज्ञवल्क्य and नचिकेतस्, scholiasts like शंकर and कुमारिल. So the student of the Rigveda will naturally be curions to know what philosophy is taught in the Rigveda. He has, however, to be warned that no cut and dry system is taught here, for which he has to go to the सूत्रs. Nor do philosophic speculations form the main burden of the Rigveda, as they do in the case of the उपनिषद्s. However, the seeds of the उपनिषद् thought are seen scattered about here and there in the संहिता of the Rigveda. Though the general religion of the Rigveda refers to a plurality of nature gods, still the tendency to monism is distinctly seen in some of the hymns. Just as the ऋषिs thought that the several natural phenomena had some divine forces behind them which were personified into so many gods, in the same way they advanced one step further and came to think that all these were the aspects of one and the same all-pervading divine force which manifested itself in different ways. Thus, there was a transition from many gods to one god. Thus in I. 164. 46 we have: "They call it, इन्द्र, मित्र, वरुण and अग्नि, or the heavenly bird गरुत्मत् (the sun). The sages call the One Being in many ways; they call it अग्नि, यम, मातरिश्वन्." Here the several Vedic gods are stated to be but one being. This whole hymn (I. 164) is nothing but a collection of fifty-two verses of poetry, all of them except one, being riddles whose answers are not given. "The subjects of these riddles are cosmic, that is, pertaining to the nature phenomena of the universe: mythological, that is, referring to the accepted legends about the gods; psychologicul that is, pertaining to the human organs and sensations or finally crude and tentative philosophy or theosophy. Heaven and Earth, Snn and Moon, air, clouds and rain; the course of the sun, the year, the seasons, months, days and nights; human voice, self-consciousness life and death; the origin of the first creature and the originator of the universe—such are the abrupt and bold themes "[1]

In spite of the worldly character of the rewards asked for by the Vedic ऋषिs, such as long life, cattle, warlike sons gold and so on, sometimes there seem to be haunting their minds, ideas about death and the world thereafter. The idea that the dead forefathers are dwelling in another world, in the company of gods, where we ourselves shall have to go after death, seem to be expressed or implied in several places. Thus we have in 1. 91 1. " under your guidance, O Indra, our wise fathers received their share of treasure among the gods;" so also 1. 125. 5. The thirst for life haunts the mind of the ऋषिs and he leads himself to believe that the life after death in the world of gods and fathers, is eternal, at least as compared with the life on this earth. Thus in V. 55, 4. and V. 63. 2 that life is called अमृतत्व or immortality.

Questions concerning the beginning and origin of all things were asked and answered in a crude and tentative manner by the Vedic ऋषिs. Thus in the hymn X, 121 हिरण्यगर्भ is described as existing in the beginning of the creation, the sole Lord of beings, supporting heaven and earth. In X. 90, the hymn popularly known as पुरुषसूक्त, the idea that the whole world is one being, the विराट्पुरुष who having pervaded the world from all sides, still remained over and above it, is dealt with. In the hymn X. 82. waters are spoken of as being the first substance or prime cause. In hymn X. 125, वाक् is represented as the companion and upholder of the gods and as the foundation of all religious activity and its attendant boons. Hymn X. 129 is a typical hymn in this connection. It is called the creation-hymn. Deussen says of this hymn: "In its noble simplicity, in the loftiness of its philosophic vision, it is possibly the most admirable bit of philosophy of olden times...No translation can ever do justice to the beauty of the original." "The avowed purpose of all philosophy is to account for the presence of the world and its contents as something which is not self-evident, and needs to be explained beyond the point of mere individual experience, or analysis through empirical knowledge. The creation hymn performs this act not without some unsteadiness and with petulance due to scepticism. In putting forth a fundamental principle without personality it does not fall far behind the best thought of later times inside or outside of India."

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[1] Bloomfield, *op. cit.* p. 218.

One thing, however, must be noted and it is that pessimism and metempsychosis, the two main threads which are woven in everything Indian, and which are the distinguishing traits thereof, are wanting in the early philosophy of the Vedas.

LECTURE X

SOCIAL LIFE IN THE RIGVEDIC AGE.

Allusions to the names of rivers in the seventh मण्डल — The country inhabited by the early Aryan colonists—villages and cities —forts—principal means of sustenance—different occupations and trades—gambling—family—marriage, the most sacred and important function—burning of widows—widow-re-marriage,-state- -formation of tribes—images of gods—caste-system.

It has been now indisputably proved by comparative philology that the Indians, Iranians, Greeks, Slavs, Germans and Italians had common ancestors, dwelling in a common country, whether it be central Asia or Norway, speaking a common language, in far distant ages. We also know from a comparison of the Avesta and Vedic Sanskrit, that after the separation of the eastern branch from the western, the former (*i. e.* Iranians and Indians) lived together for a long time, calling themeselves Aryans, to distinguish themselves from other tribes.[1] After their separation from the Iranians, the Eastern Aryans (or Indians) passed into India through the Western passes of the Hindukush. The part of India which these Indian Aryans occupied, during the composition of the Rigveda is sufficiently indicated by topical references in the Rigveda especially the names of rivers. Accordingly the Aryans must have first settled themselves along the banks of the Sindhu in the Punjab, where most of the hymns of the

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[1] For a resume of different views held on the original home of the Indo-Aryan tribes, see Belvalkar, "The controversy over the original home of the Aryans *Jour. K. R. Kama Oriental Institute*. 1923. pp. 89 ff.—V. S. S.

Rigveda must have been composed, before they passed to the regions of the Ganges, where later Brahmanism dominated and which saw the composition of the ब्राह्मणs and उपनिषद्s.[1] In the seventh मण्डल the following passages may be noticed as mentioning the rivers; VII. 18. 8. 9. 19. 24; 95 and 96 in honour of the सरस्वती.

The Sindhu, the modern Indus, sometimes designated समुद्र, is the much-praised सरस्वती (lit. rich in water) in the Rigveda, by whose greatness, the singers were inspired into most glorious strains. The other rivers mentioned are : वितस्ता (lit. stretched out), now Jhelum : असिक्नी (black), now Chinab; पुरुष्णी; इरावती, now Ravi; विपाट् (fetterless), now Bias; शुतुद्री (changed later on to Satadru = hundred-coursed), now Sutlaj; and the यमुना. The Ganges, which in later times became the backbone of India, is mentioned in the Rigveda only once, in X. 75. 5; the कुभा (Kabul) and Suvastu (the Swat) are also referred to a few times. Thus East Kabulistan and the Punjab may be regarded as the country where the early Aryan colonists lived.[2]

Villages and cities are referred to *e. g.* I, 114. 1; I. 44. 10. Iron cities or fortifications are mentioned in VII. 3. 7; VII. 15. 14; VII 95. 1. Although these are alluded to figuratively as the means of protection afforded by the gods, they.

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[1] Keith (*Cambridge History of India,* Vol. 1. pp. 79 ff,) sets forth and substantiates the results of recent research which favours the view that the main. though not the earliest, part of the Rigveda, had its origin not in the Punjab but in the sacred country of later Brahmanism, the land known in the संहिताs of the succeeding period as ब्रह्मावर्त.—V, S, S,

[2] See the important article by M. A. Stein, "On some river names in the Rigveda," in the *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp . 21 ff,—V.S.S.

no doubt, suggest the idea of forts, consisting apparently of a series of concentric walls, as actually existing in the country at the time.

Cattle-keeping and agriculture are the principal means of sustenance.[1] We frequently meet with prayers for herds of cattle, cows and horses, sheep and goats, especially the milch-cows which is " the sum of all good which Indra has created for our enjoyment." As for food, frequent mention is made of यव (I. 23. 15; 1 117. 21 etc.). Rice is not referred to in the Rigveda but is named in the अथर्ववेद (cf. VI. 140. 2. व्रीहिमत्तं यवमत्तमथो माषमथो तिलम्). Parched corn is mentioned several times (III. 35. 3 and 7; III. 52 5) : cakes and meal mixed with curds or butter (करम्भ) are offered to the gods (III. 52. 7; VI. 57. 2). Plants are frequently alluded to and are even invoked (VII. 34. 23: VII. 35. 5; especially X 97.15). The cutting up of fiesh, apparently for sacrificial purposes is mentioned in I. 161. 10. In V. 29. 7, VIII. 12. 8 and VIII. 66. 10, mention is made of the gods cooking or eating large numbers of buffaloes From this it may be inferred that they also formed a portion of human food. The drinking of Soma is referred to. The Soma juice was not only dear to Indra and other gods, but it was drunk by the worshippers themselves and its effects on them are occasionally described (VI. 47. 3; VIII. 48. 3). Wine (सुरा) was also in use (VII. 86. 6: VIII. 2. 12)[2]

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[1] A somewhat detailed description of social life in the Rigvedic age has been attempted by Keith in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 1. pp. 77 1. Two earlier Works dealing wirh the same subject in great detail are; Lassen, *Indische Alterlumskunde* ,4 Vols and Zimmer. *Altindisches Leben.*—V S.S.

[2] Contrast Manu. XI. 54, 90. 93—97. 148 f., 249.—V.S,S-

Different occupations and trades are mentioned. In this connection, one should read especially IX. 112. I-4. The construction of chariots is often referred to, and the skill shown in the composition of hymns is compared to the art of the carriage-builder (II. 19. 8; 11. 35. 2, etc.). Weaving was universally practised, as appears from the metaphorical use of the verb वे 'to weave' for the composition of hymns (VII. 33, 9, and 12). The art of ship-building was known (II. 39. 4 : 1. 25. 7 ; VII. 88. 8f.), Rope-making is referred to in VII. 84. 2; working in leather in VII. 63. 1, VII. 89. 2, and VII. 103. 2. Agriculture is recommended to the gambler in X, 34. 13. Water courses, both artificial and natural, are alluded to in III, 45. 3 and VII 49. 2, from which we may reasonably infer that irrigation of lands under cultivation was practised.

Gambling was the most popular form of recreation (VII. 86. 6). The whole of the hymn X. 34 should be read in this connection. Thieves and robbers are referred to in VII. 55. 3 and VII. 86. 5.

The state was founded on the family, at the head of which stood the father as lord of the house. Marriage was regarded as a most sacred and important function. "The Vedic singers[1] knew no more tender relation than that between the husband and his willing, loving wife, who is praised as "his home. the darling abode and bliss in his house."[2] The high position of the wife is above all shown by the fact that she participates in the sacrifice with her husband, with harmonious mind at the early dawn, both,

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1. Kaegi, op. cit. p. 15.
2. RV. III. 53. 4 and 6.

in fitting words, send up their prayers to the eternals.[1] In the new home the young wife is subject to her husband, but at the same time mistress of the farm-labourers and slaves, and of parents and brothers-in-law.

All this is comprehensible only on the supposition that monogamy was the rule. And this is pointed to directly by the text (I. 124. 7; IV. 3. 2; X. 71. 4; I. 105. 2). However, there are some traces of the existence of polygamy, amongst Kshatriyas though it was, no doubt, the exception: cf. I. 62. 11; I. 71. 1; I. 105. 8 (=X. 33 2); VII. 26. 3; VII. 18. 2: X. 43. 1.

The woman seems to have been free to make her choice of a husband, as appears from X. 27. 11 and 12.

Marriage was looked upon as a sacrament the aim of which was the mutual support of man and wife and the propagation of their race; therefore, it is the oft-repeated wish of the Vedic singer to beget a son of his own flesh, whose place could never be filled by adoption. See VII. 4. 7 and 8, which allude to the inferiority of the adopted son to the natural-born one,

As for the burning of widows the practice does not seem to be evidenced directly by the Rigveda; yet, from other indications we have to accept the probability that the custom was also observed now and then in the Vedic period. Atharvaveda 18. 3. 1 proves the immolation of the wife at the death of her husband as an old custom (पुराणधर्म.) But that the custom was nor compulsory nor very general follows from such passages as X. 18. 7 and X. 40. 2. The former passage is now regarded as a distinct sanction for widow-burning by reading अग्नेः in place of अग्रे. That the usage only received decided sanction in late times is evident from the fact that "the Indian Law-literature, from the oldest times upto the late peoiod, treats fully of the widow's right of inheritance and that the isolated references to the burning of widows in some of the law-books endorse it only as a matter of choice."

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[1] Cf. I. 122, 2; X. 86. 10; especially X. 85.

As for the question of widow remarriage, its general non-prevalance is naturally expected from the extremely important and sacred character of marriage. However, there is a passage which distinctly bears testimony to the fact that a widow was allowed to marry her husband's brother. In X. 40. 2 we have,

कुह स्विद्दोषा कुह वस्तोरश्विना कुहाभिपित्वं करतः कुहोषतः ।
को वां शयुत्रा विधवेव देवरं मर्यं न योषा कृणुते सधस्थ आ ॥

In elucidation of the comparison in 1. 3. Roth in नि॰ III. 15. refers to मनु IX. 69-70 where it is enjoined that in certain circumstances a widow shall be married to her deceased husband's brother. In verse 60 of the same अध्याय of मनु, it is ruled that the union shall only subsist until one son has been procreated.

Allusions to conjugal infidelity and sexual immorality are only rarely met with (X. 34. 4; X. 40. 6; II. 29. 1).

Women are sometimes spoken of as ungovernable and fickle (VIII. 33. 17).

Untruth is condemned in IV.5. 5. and the gods are said to punish lying (I. 152· 1; VII. 49. 3; VII. 84. 4).

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1. Kaegi, *op. cit* p. 133 notea

On the foundation of the family rests the state. For protection against threatened attacks and for the purpose of marauding incursions into the territory of other peoples, coalitions were formed between tribes; but in times of peace the tribe itself formed the highest political unit. The government was monarchical as is to be naturally expected from its origin in the family, The king stood at the head. Several kings or leaders are mentioned in the hymns of the Rigveda. Thus ten kings are alluded to as having fought against सुदास् (VII.33.3, VII.83. 6 ff.). In VII.18.2. Indra is represented as living in lights, as a king among his wives which appears to indicate the existence of royal polygamy. It was regarded as eminently beneficial for a king to entertain a family-priest and we find the liberality of different princes to the ऋषिs or priests by whom they were attended celebrated in numerous passages; cf. X.173, in which blessings are invoked on a king.

About the religion and worship of the Vedic people, I have spoken at length in a separate lecture. An interesting question may be touched upon here, and it is this 'Did the Vedic Indians make images of their gods?" Max Muller[1] says: "The religion of the Veda knows of no idols. The worship of idols in India is a secondary formation, a later degradation of the more primitive worship of ideal gods." On the other hand, the opposite view is put forth by Bollensen, according to whom, the use of such appellations as दिवो नरः, नृपेशसः in connection with gods proves not only that human forms were assigned to gods in imagination, but the gods were also actually represented iconographically.

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1. *Chips from a German Workshop.* Vol, 1, p, 38,

He adduces in his support II. 33. 9; I. 25. 13; V. 52. 15; in the last passage the मरुत्s seem to be distinguished from their 'gods', i. e from their images. The question, however, cannot be decided either way at present.

Do the Vedas contain the caste-system ? Nothing dominates the life of a Hindu more than religious institutions; and no institution is more tyrannical in its influence than the caste-system, Its grotesque inconsistencies and bitter tyranny have gone far to make the Hindu what he is. Bloomfield condemns it downright and remarks, "The corrosive properties of this single iustitution, more than anything else whatsoever have checked the development of India into a nation. They have made possible the spectacle of a country of nearly 300 millions of inhabitants, governed by the skill of 60,000 military and 60,000 civilian foreigners."

This is not the place to refute or justify these remarks. We are only concerned with the question whether there is anything like the present caste-system evidenced by the hymns of the Rigveda.

It must be first stated that nothing like the present divisions and sub-divisions which bave made the caste-system a caste-chaos has place anywhere in ancient Sanskrit literature. It is only the fourfold division into ब्राह्मण, क्षात्रय, वैश्य and शूद्र that is very frequently referred to. For the several passages in ब्राह्मणs, पुराणs and other works referring to caste and its origination, I may refer yon to Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts* vol. I.

In the hymns of Rigveba, however, there is only one passage referriug to this four-fold division and that is

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1. Bloomfield, *op. cit.* p. 5.

X. 90. 12. This hymn, known as the पुरुषसूक्त is, however, regarded by many scholars as being a very late production, on account of several indications of its modern character, such as the use of terms like ब्राह्मण and वैश्य which rarely or never again occur in the Rigveda, the pantheistic ideas, which do not find a place in the older portions of the Rigveda, the smoothness and regularity of metre and so on. Thus it is argued that even the conception of the four castes is foreign to the Rigveda proper: and even this allusion is more an allegorical representation than a literal statement of facts.

Others, however, (Dr. Haug, for instance,) hold that the hymn may not be necessarily regarded as modern in character, because such cosmological and speculative conceptions are met with in about every part of the Rigveda and that the allegory is most significant and instructive.

Thus Dr. Haug remarks.[1] "Now according to this passage, which is the most ancient and authoritative we have on the origin of Brahmanism and caste in general, the ब्राह्मण has not come from the mouth of this primary being, the पुरुष, but the mouth of the latter became the Brahmanical caste, that is to say, was transformed into it. The passage has, no doubt, an allegorical sense. Mouth is the seat of speech. The allegory thus points out that the ब्राह्मणs are teachers and instructors of mankind. The arms are the seat of strength. If the two arms of the पुरुष are said o have been made a क्षत्रिय (warrior), that means, then, that the क्षत्रियs have to carry arms to defend the empire. That the thighs of the पुरुष were transformed into the वैश्य means

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1. Muir, *op cit.* vol, 1, p, 14.

that, as the lower parts of the body are the principal repository of food taken, the वैश्य caste is destined to provide food for the others. The creation of the शूद्र from the feet of the पुरुष indicates that he is destined to be a servant to the others, just as the food serves the other parts of the body as a firm support." It is this verse 12 of the पुरुषसूक्त which is generally put forth as an evidence for the determination of caste by birth By the side of this, however, may be cited the passage from the भगवद्गीता :

चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुणकर्मविभागशः ।

which affirms that the fourfold division of caste depends upon qualities and actions (as opposed to birth). Even this passage is, however, interpreted by the orthodox people in their favour, by laying stress on the word सृष्टम्.

LECTURE XI

GRAMMATICAL PECULIARITIES OF THE RIGVEDA

Vedic inflexional forms—Peculiarities of संधि—Peculiarities of Declension—Peculiarities of conjugation — Infinitives and Gerunds—The subjunctive—Peculiarities of syntax.

A general comparison of the Sanskrit of the Ṛgveda with the Classical Sanskrit will show that the former is more rich in inflexional forms than the latter, which has become more rigid and less multiform. Thus, for instance, in the case of the declension of nouns, where we had originally two or three forms for a particular case-ending, we have now only one; and in the case of the conjugation of verbs, whole tenses or moods have become obsolete. Thus, there is nothing in the Classical language corresponding to the subjunctive in the Veda, and the Vedic infinitive has about eight forms, while the classical infinitive has only one. In the same way a greater variety can be marked in the Vedic संधि as compared with that of the classical dialect. In order to see the truth of all this, it is necessary to be acquainted with the grammatical forms which the Vedic Sanskrit has in contradiction to the Classical idiom which we today proceed to note, with illustrations from the seventh मण्डल, as far as possible

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1, An admirable little synopsis of the main peculiarities of Vedic Grammar have been given by Zimmermann. *op. cit.* pp. XLVII. ff., which may be consulted with advantage. The subject has been comprehensively treated by Macdonell in his *Vedic Grammar* (Encyclopedia Indo-Aryan, Research, I. 4, Strassburg. 1910). —V, S, S, To begin with, in the matter of धि in Classical Sanskrit, hiatus is generally forbidden, but in the Vedic Sanskrit, it is very frequent. Thus in innumerable instances य and व are to be read as इ and उ, and less often a long vowel is to be resolved into two vowels, in order to make good the metre. As illustrations, compare VII. 4.8^a, 6.3^d, 14.2^c, 21.4^a. 22.4^b. 66.11^b. and so on.

The disappearance of an initial अ after a final ए or ओ which is the invariable rule in Classical Sanskrit, is, in the Veda, only an occasional occurrence, and in this respect, there is no accordance between the written and spoken form of the Vedic text. The अ is many times elided where the metre requires it, while it is retained, where the metre requires its omission. Here are some instances; VII. 1. 7^a, 8^u, 9^a. 11^a, 19^b, 66.5^c; 61.3^d; 18.7^c; 33.11_b; 57.5^c; 71.5_a.

The final ई, ऊ, ए of a dual form are maintained uncombined with the following vowel, but the Rigveda shows many exceptions to this, especially before इव, *e. g.* VII. 72.3^c; 87.12^c; 104.6^d. The combination with इव following, without regard to the form of the ending (*e. g.* अः, आः. etc., or अम्, इम्, उम्, etc.) is so frequent that the simplest explanation is the presence of the parallel form व regularly used in पाली and in the verses of Buddhist Sanskrit.

The change of न् to ण् effected by the preceding ऋ, र, ष्, takes place in the Veda, occasionally even when the latter belong to a different word, essentially unconnected, Especially tbe pronominal forms नस् and एन are thus affected very often.

Original final स् is retained after a nasal. Thus final आन्, ईन्, ऊन् and ऋन् become आँ, ईँ, ऊँ and ऋ the स् after these nasalised vowels being treated as if it were after pure vowels. Thus we have दस्यूँरोकसः (VII. 5. 6), so also 6.3^b, 3^c, 3^d; 10. 5^c; 11. 1^a.

In the Veda, the final vowel of a word—generally अ, much less often इ or उ—is in a large number of cases prolonged, usually when it is favoured by the metre, but sometimes even where the metre opposes the change.[1] Such words are (1) particles like अथ, अध etc., (2) case-forms like एना, तेना etc., (3) verb-forms like पिबा, स्था, शृणुता, विद्मा, युक्ष्वा, वेदा, कृधी, कृणुही etc., and 4) gerunds in य.

Next we proceed to the *declension of nouns.* Let us begin with the masculine and neuter nouns ending in अ. In their case, the singular of the instrumental (both m. & n.), shows a peculiar form, either ending in एना or आ. The following are instances from the seventh मण्डल: 18. 17 पेत्वेना; 55.7 तेना सहस्थेना ; 71.4 and 93.7 एना ; 32.7 त्वा इषित (त्वा instr. of त्व); 13. 2 महित्वा; 20. 4; 23. 3: 58. 1; 61. 4; 97. 8; 100. 3.

The dual of the nominative and accusative (m. only), usually ends in आ; while औ is only exceptional. आ occurs generally. (1) at the end of a पाद, (2) before consonants, and (3) before an initial vowel with which it is fused, but never before vowels. A good illustration where both forms occur side by side is 1. 184. 1 ता वाम् अद्य तावपरं हुवेम. Instances of forms ending in आ are VII. 1. 17; 2. 7; 18, 22; 70, 1; 50. 1; 67. 5. However, note 50. 2 and 84. 2 where औ occurs before consonants.

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[1] Sec Whitney, *Skt. Grammar* para 248,

Next is to be noticed the plural of the nominative and vocative (m.). There are two endings आसस् and आस्. The forms in आसस् are about one half as numerous as those in आस् in the Rigveda. In the Atharvaveda, there are comparatively very few forms in आसस् ; thus the ending आसस् is older and goes gradually out of use in the Vedic period; we have also many instances, where both forms stand often side by side: *e. g.* Rigveda, IV. 25. 8 ; VII. 97. 6. A पाद deficient by one syllable is often emended by substituting आसस् for आस् *e. g.* VII. 35. 14^{d}. Other instances of आसस् in the seventh मण्डल are 1. 9. 15. 17; 4. 3 ; 15. 9; 16. 3.

For the plural of the nominative, accusative, and vocative (n.) there are two endings आ and आनि. The older (आ) has far outnumbered the younger in the Rigveda, though there are many instances where both stand side by side. In the Atharvaveda the proportion is much reduced, though the older form has held its own against the yonger, better than any other similar Vedic form. Instances in the seventh मण्डल are I. 18^{a}; 3. 4^{b} ;10^{a}; 4. 1. 2; 5. 7; 18. 1 ; and so on. The genesis of the younger form can be best explained by supposiug that there is a transfer from the अ declension to the अन् declension, which is also shown by the co-existence of such forms as कृत्रिमा, कृत्रिमाणि etc. (VII. 19. 4 ; VII. 67. 9). Sometimes a पाद deficient by one syllable can be emended by reading आनि for आ, *e. g.* VII. 4. 2.

For the plural of the instrumental (m. & n.) there are two endings एभिस् and ऐस्, both almost equally frequent in the Rigveda. the older however dying out gradually in the Vedic period. Both sometimes occur side by side. The only trace of the ending एभिस् in later Sanskrit is the pronominal form एभिस् (from इदम्) Instances in the seventh मण्डल are: 2. 8. 11 : 7. 2, 6.

Next, we come to nouns in आ. In the case of these (f.) for the singular of the instrumental, there are two endings आ and अया. The older ending is about as frequent as the younger. The older euding is generally applied to stems in ता or इआ (or या)[1] Instances in the seventh मण्डल are; 1. 11; 18. 7; 23. 1; 32. 14, etc. One instance of the peculiar sing. dative fem. is the form अवीरते in VII, 1. 19[a].

For the plural of the nominative (f.) आस् is the very general ending, but in very few cases आसस् (perhaps extended from the masculine) is also met with. Thus we have VII. 28. 4 दुर्मित्रासः क्षितयः VII. 18. 3.पस्पृधानासः...गिरः.

Next we come to stems in इ (f.). For the instrumental singular, the final is only lengthened in the Veda. Instances in the seventh मण्डल are 1. 1; 20. 2; 25. 1; 32. 15; 32. 21. For the locative singular, the final इ is changed to आ, (1) generally before consonants, (2) before an initial vowel with which it is fused; but never before vowels *e. g.* VII. 2. 5; 18. 19: 19. 3: 27. 1. Even masculine nouns in इ have sometimes a loc. sing. form ending in आ; *e. g.* अग्ना or sometimes extended to अग्नायि. The gen. and abl. sing. of mas. in इ is sometimes made by only adding the termination without having गुण; *e. g.* अर्यः from अरि. The nom. plural of fem. in इ is sometimes formed as in भूमीः.

As for nouns in उ (m, & n.) we meet with such forms as abl. sing. वस्यः VII. 15. 4 : dat. sing. क्रत्वे VII. 25. 4; loc. sing. सानाव; instr. sing. क्रत्वा VII. 21 6; 4. 5.. Nouns in ई fem. form nom. plu, as in देवा.—2.8 ; 10.3; 5.3 : 26.4: and instr. sing. as in शमी. Nouns in इ neut. have for their nom. plu. such forms as—कुक्मी VII. 56. 8: शुची VII. 56. 12; अप्रती VII. 23. 3. In the case of fem nonns in उ we have such forms as the acc. sing. तन्वम् VII. 8. 5.

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[1] The addition of the younger ending to nouns ending in इआ or या would end in a clumsy combination —V, s, s,

Nouns ending in ऋ (m.&f,) have their nom. dual ending in आ which occurs (1) at the end of a पाद, (2) before consonants,(3) before an initial vowel with which it is fused, but never before vowels: *e. g.* मातरा VII. 7. 3 युष्मे and अस्मे are often found used for युष्मासु and अस्मासु.

In the case of nouns in अन् we have a peculiar loc. sing. form without any termination, *e. g.* व्योमन् (=व्योमनि), परिज्मन् (=परिज्मनि), etc.

Next, I may proceed to *conjugation*. Here I must content myself only with noting a few peculiarities which are very frequently met with. For a fuller and exhaustive treatment of the Verb-inflection in the Rigveda the student is referred to Avery's Verb-inflection in Sanskrit.[1]

The 1st pers. plural termination (परस्मैपद) of the present tense is मस् invariably in classical Sanskrit. But in the Rigveda, मसि is found more frequently by the side of भस् मसि is found 117 times in the Rigveda, and 3 times only in the ऐतरेथ ब्राह्मण, but never in the Classical Sanskrit. On the other hand, मस् appears only 21 times in the Rigveda, 4 times in the ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण, and is the only ending in Classical Sanskrit. Thus it appears that the longer ending was far in advance iu the time' of Rigveda, that it was overtaken by the shorter ending in the ब्राह्मण period. and driven entirely off the field in the Classical period.

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[1] *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* Vol. X.

The 3rd pers, sing. ending (आत्मनेपद) of the present tense is sometimes ए instead of ते; *e. g.* शृण्वे VII. 8. 4: VII. 26. 4.

The imperative 2nd pers. sing. deserves notice. The classical rule requires धि after consonants excepting nasals, ल् and र् and in the 9th conjugation. which substitutes आन : हि after vowels (excepting अ and उ of the 5th and 8th conjugations, after a single consonant) nasals. ल् and र्: after अ and उ following a single consonant, the ending is dropped. This rule is not observed in the Veda, but the ending धि is more frequently found. Examples from the seventh मण्डल are: शशाधि (1. 20), कृधि (16. 6: 25. 5), श्रुधि (22. 4: 32. 1). The root श्रु shows the three successive stages शृणुधि, शृणुहि and शृणु. Notice also forms like गहि (from गम्).

Tha longer endings थन and तन instead of य and त in the 2nd pers. plural are also met with in the Veda.

We also meet with in the Rigveda some peculiar forms of the 2nd pers. sing. having an imperative value, made by adding the ending सि to the root. Examples from the seventh मण्डल are: क्षेषि (18. 2). भक्षि (41. 2). यक्षि and वेषि (16.5.)

Certain perfect participles whose stem is monosyllabic owing to the absence of the reduplication are met with; *e. g.* दाश्वान्, मीढ्वान्, साह्वान्.

The infinitive presents a great variety of forms. A number of verbal nouns in varioua cases are used in such a way as to be assimilated to the infinitive. Thus, in addition to the Classical infinitive in तुम्, which is, really speaking, nothing more than the accusative singular form of the root-noun formed by तु, we have the dative form from the same, used as an infinitive; *e. g.* अवितवे (VII. 33. 1) अन्वेतवे (VII. 33. 8).

Infinitives are also found with the ending तवै (*e.g.* हन्तवै, एतवै), with the ending असे *i. e.* the dative singular of the root-noun ending in अस् (*e. g.* चक्षसे, जीवसे), with the ending तये *i.e.* the dative sing. of the root-noun ending in ति. (*e.g* पीतये ऊतये) with the ending ध्यै (*e. g.* स्तवध्ये VII. 37. 1, इषध्यै VII. 43.1 पृणध्यै शुचध्यै), with the euding तो: *i. e.* the gen. sing. of the root-noun ending in तु (*e.g* एतो:, कर्तो:, and with some more endings.

In addition to gerunds ending in त्वा, we have those ending in त्वाय and त्वी (which is very common); *e.g.* हत्वाय कृत्वी पित्वी भूत्वी:

The subjunctive mood, whose remnant is seen in Classical Sanskrit only in the imperfect and aorist forms without augment, after the partcle मा (prohibitive), is a very frequent formation in the Rigveda, denominated as लेट् by Sanskrit grammarians. Such forms as भवाति (VII. 8. 6), पताति (VII. 25. 1), तारिषत् जोषिषत्, मादयेते, गृह्णान्तै are Illustrations of the subjunctIve.

Next 1 may notice some peculiarities of *sentence strncture*. The first and the foremost feature is the position of prepositions or उपसर्गs in a sentence. **In** later Sanskrit, the उपसर्ग, as a rule, must immediately precede the verb of which it forms a part, and no word is allowed to intervene beween them. But in the Rigveda the उपसर्ग is, separated from the verb by one or more words. As instances may be given the following verses from the seventh मण्डल: I. 4. 6. 7. 8; 3. 9; 4. 1; 8. 4; 21. 7; 24. 4; 60. 3; 86. 1; 86. 5; and many more.

Another peculiarity is that the preposition, once used with the verb, is alone repeated without the verb which is implied, and the preposition alone stands for the whole verb. Instances from मण्डल 7 are 1. 6. 86. 5. Sometimes the उपसर्गs alone are used and the verb is implied, as in VII. 6. 1 and 3. Sometimes we meet with paranthetical sentences having no syntactical connection with what precedes or what follows, as in VII. 1. 15. Sometimes a relative sentence is used without a corresponding correlative sentence or without a word to connect it with the correlative sentence. *e. g.* VII, 1. 8 and 12.

LECTURE XII

VEDIC METRE

Reasons for the preference for metre—The meaning of the word छन्दस्—The most prominent of Vedic metres stated—A synopsis of the metres of the seventh मण्डल—Two schools of critics—those who maintain the text and admit metrical irregularity—those who advocate textual restoration—Textual restorations generally agreed upon—The number of syllables in foot, not the only rule—also rules of rhythm—Historical development—Four periods based upon metrical criteria.

If one casts a glance at the Sanskrit literature in general, he will find that the greater part is composed in verse. The epics, पुराणs, law-books, काव्यs, are all metrical compositions. And to this the oldest Sanskrit book, I mean, the संहिता of the Rigveda, is no exception. And this preference for metre of the old Vedic ऋषिs is but natural. For, in the first place, the language of nature clothes itself in metre Deep, strong passions express themselves in metre: for a metre is nothing but a particular arrangement of high and low tones. Secondly, as the Vedic hymns were composed for sacrificial purpose, with a view to propitiate the gods, nothing could please the gods better than prayers sung. Mere recitations of prose formulæ or lectures do not possess that attraction which naturally belongs to songs sung or hymns chanted. Thirdly, the metrical limitations served a most practical purpose, that of preserving and remembering easily what was composed, especially when writing was not in vogue. It is the experience of every one that a verse can be more easily and more permanently committed in memory than a mere prose statement. Hence the necessity of putting rules of grammar and whole lexicons in a metrical form. Students of Sanskrit need not be reminded of the कारिकाs of grammar and अमरकोश. And the credit of preserving without serious corruption the Vedic texts may be largely due to the fact that they are in a fixed metrical form. Hence, the statement in शिक्षा explaining the relation of छन्दस् to the Veda : छन्द: पादौ तु वेदस्य- the metre is the feet of the Veda.

The word छन्दस् is derived from चदि आह्लादने, from which the name चन्द्र is also derived: and who will deny that a composition clothed in a metrical form affords comparatively greater pleasure? यास्क derives the word from छद् to cover and छन्दस् is so called because it is the covering of the Vedic texts. By metaphor the texts of the Veda themselves came to be called छन्दs because their external form was metrical. Thus छन्दस् became a synonym of वेद : and as the grammar and metre of the Veda are more irregular or rather much less regular, from the point of view of Classical Sanskrit, छान्दस came to mean 'irregular' or 'whimsical[1], and the word has come down to be so used even in our vernacular.

छन्दस्, as I have already said in Lecture 2, is included in the six वेदाङ्गs and the oldest work at present available is the treatise of पिङ्गल which deals with not only the Vedic metres but with the classical metres also.

Broadly speaking, the Vedic metres are much less regular than the classical metres: in fact, there being no hard and fast rules regarding the quantity and order of the several

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1. Cf. यदेभिरात्मानमाच्छादयन्देवा मृत्योर्विभ्यन: तच्छन्दसां छन्दस्त्वम् quoted from a ब्राह्मण by दुर्ग on Nir. VII. 12.

letters, the total number of syllables is the only criterion of distinguishing one metre from another.

From the metrical point of view, the Rigveda is made up of hymns, each of which consists of a certain number of verses and each verse consists of two or more feet. and each foot consists of a certain number of syllables.

The most prominent of the Vedic metres are:[1]

गायत्री	8,	8,	8		
उष्णिक्	8,	8,	12,		
पुरउष्णिक्	12,	8.	8,		
ककुभ्	8,	12,	8.		
अनुष्टुभ्	8	8,	8,	8.	
बृहती	8,	8,	12,	8.	
सतोबृहती	12,	8,	12,	8.	
पङ्क्ति	8,	8,	8,	8,	8,
प्रस्तारपाङ्क्ति	12,	12,	8,	8,	
विराज्	10,	10, or	11,	11,	11.
त्रिष्टुभ्	11,	11,	11,	11.	
जगती	12,	12,	12,	12.	

There are of course, many sub-varieties of these metres, formed by altering the order of the various feet. The metres of the different verses in the hymns of the Rigveda are all exhaustively given in the सर्वानुक्रमणी of कात्यायन extracts from which are, as a rule. quoted by सायण at the commencement of his commentary on each hymn. Restricting ourselves to the seventh मण्डल, we find that the त्रिष्टुभ्

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[1] The names of the metres are followed by the numbers of the syllables in each of the several feet of which they are made up.

metre prevails mostly throughout the book with a very few exceptions of other metres. Thus, hymns 15, 31 (1-9), 55 (1), 59 (9-11), 66 (1-9 & 17-19), 89 (1-4), 94 (1-11), 96 (4-6), 102 are गायत्री.

Hymns 1 (1-18), 22 (1·8), 31 (10-12), 68 (1-7), are विराज् त्र्यैकादशका : while 32 (3) is द्विपदा विराज् (12, 8), and 4 (1·21),56 (1-11) are द्विपदा विराज् (10, 10),

Hymn 14 (1) is वृहती while 55 (2-4) is उपरिष्टाद् वृहती (8, 8, 8, 12). Hymns 16, 32 (excepting verse 3), 59 (1-6) 66 (10-15). 74 (1-61), 81 (1-6), 96 (1-2), have वृहती and सतोवृहती in alternate verses. Such pairs of वृहती and सतोवृहती are called प्रागाथ in the सर्वानुक्रमणी.

Hymns 41 (1), 44 (1), 46 (1-3), 50 (1-3), 82, 83, 89, (5), 104 (1-6, 18, 21, 23) are जगती.

Hymns 55 (5-8), 59 (12), 94 (12), 103 (1), 104 (25) are अनुष्टुप्, One hymn only viz. 17 is द्विपदा त्रिष्टुभ्.

One verse viz. 50 (4), is अतिजगती also called शक्वरी (consisting of five feet having 10, 10, 11, 11, 11 syllables respectively). One verse 66 (16) is पुरउष्णिक् (12, 8, 8). One verse 96 (3) is प्रस्तारपङ्क्ति (12, 12, 8, 8). And one verse 104 (7) is either जगती or त्रिष्टुभ्.

All other verses not mentioned in the above are त्रिष्टुभ् which may be thus said to be the prevailing metre of the seventh मण्डल.

It wss said above that the only rule is regarding the number of syllables in a foot of the metre without any regard to the quantity or order of the several syllables. But even this number of syllables seems to fail us now and then. For instance, where a foot ought to have 12 syllables in conformity with other feet of the same verse, it has 11, or where it ought to have 11, it has 10 and so on; thus in VII 1.3, the first line has only 10 syllables whereas it ought to have 11 syllables to be a foot of the विराज् metre (consisting of three feet, each of 11 syllables). Similar is the case of the 2nd line in the same verse. Now the question arises. 'Is it an irregularity of metre of which the Vedic poets were guilty? Or is there some mistake in writing the text, the recitation being quite conformable to the requirements of the metre?'

According to the answer given to these questions, there are two schools of Vedic critics. Some, having regard to the great antiquity and authority of the संहिता text, feel alarmed at any proposal to tamper with it, and are inclined in all cases of doubt to maintain the text and to admit a *metrical irregularity*. Others again recognizing the genearl skilfulness of the Vedic bards, propose in the same cases *textual restoration*. Neither of these views must be carried to an extreme or followed to the exclusion of the other. We can neither regard the text as final nor the metrical standards as holding good without exception. The principle underlying the admission of either view in the present case, is clearly *quantitative*. The multiplicity of instances constitutes the proof. All commentators adopt without hesitation that hypothesis which accounts for the largest number o facts in the simplest way. If one textual correction will rectify ten verses, we make the textual correction; if the admissiou of one metrical variation or irregularity will accord with the text of ten verses, we admit the metrical.

variation. Thus to decide which of these courses is to be followed in a particular case, requires a detailed examination of the text.

Thus the following textual restorations have been generally agreed upon.

(1) Where the text, in accordance with the classical rules of संधि, combines the final vowel of one word with the initial vowel of the next, final अ, आ must occasionally. and final इ, ई, उ, ऊ generally, be read as separate syllables. Thus to take instances from the seventh मण्डल 1. 3^{a} प्रइद्ध:; 1. 3^{b} सुऊमिआ; 3. 1^{d} घृतअन्न; 8. 1^{d} आ आग्निः 4. 6^{a}; 4. 7: 5. 2; and so on.

(2) Where the text omits initial अ after final अस् or ए, the initial अ must usually be restored as a separate syllable. Thus. in the seventh मण्डल; 1. 4^{a} अग्नयो आग्निभ्यो; 1. 19^{1} अग्ने अवीरते ; 2. 10^{a} वनस्पते अव and so on.

(3) In numerous words and endings, the value of a separate syllable is either necessarily or optionally to be given to य्, व्, of the text. Thus in the seventh मण्डल–1.11^{c} दुरिआसु दुर्यः, 18. 12: सखिआय सख्यम्. Notice that in these two instances, the syllabic and consonantal values are found side by side; so also—5. 5 ; 6. 1^{b}; 15. 15^{c}; 19. 2^{a} (तुअम्); 32. 26^{b}; 104. 4^{c} 20. 20^{d}, 25^{d}; and so on.

(4) In a few words, long vowels or diphthongs are optioually to be read as equivalent to two syllables. Thus, in the seventh मण्डल, 65.1^{c}, 86. 4^{a}; 97. 3^{a} we restore ज्येष्ठ to ज्यायिष्ठ, 93. 1^{d} धेष्ठ to धायिष्ठ; 34. 14^{b}; 36. 5^{d}: 88. 1^{a} प्रेष्ठ to प्रयिष्ठ; 40. 6^{d}: वात to वअत.

(5) A few words are regularly misrepresented: thus for पावक: we must always read पवाक; for सुवान: almost always स्वान: for मृळयं always मृळयं 1 Thus lu the seventh मण्डल we have 49. 2 and 3, 56.12: and 57. 5. in which पावका: occuring at the end of the foot has to be read पवाका: to sui the closing rhythm. So in 89. 1 and other verses, मृळय has to be read मळय for the same purpose.

There are other restorations also, though less certain in character. Thus,

(6) the word इन्द्र has to be read as a word of three syllables, though in a very large number of cases it is a word of two syllables. Thus VII. 19. 2^a तुभं ह त्यदिन्द्र, VII. 19. 6^a; 20. 2^a; 21. 5^a; 22. 1^a, and so on.

(7) The restoration of अअम् for आम् in the genitive plural of all declensions is required, generally at the end of an eight-syllabled foot, *e. g.* VII. 16. 2^d: 16. 7^d 32. 11^d 32. 25^d; 66. 3^b: 74. 6^b: and so on. Verse 1. 167. 10. illustrates in itself most of these restorations.

So far we have spoken only of the external form of the metre. Indian commentators generally stop here and hold that the internal form or the rhythm is even more irregular and free than the external, and is, therefore, a factor, of little consequence. Modern critics, however, have, from a detailed examination of the text from the metrical point of view, come to the conclusion that there is no considerable part of the verse in which certain rhythms are favoured, and others avoided, that everywhere there exist metrical preferences.

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1 Because etymologically the root vowel is long: see Wackernagel *Altindiscke Grammatik*. Lautlehre, para 23.—V. S S.

Thus for instance. we find that at the end of a foot of 11 or 12 syllables, the last 4 syllables are generally ⌣-⌣ ⌣, while at the end of a foot of 8 syllables they are commonly - ⌣ - . A detailed study of this inner construction or rhythm of the foot has enabled Vedic critics to lay down certain metrical criteria which distinguish one period of the Ṛigveda from another. Thus.[1] Arnold in his *Vedic Metre* has arrived at four periods: (1) the *bardic period* or the period of originality and rivalry between the bardic familes, to which belong hymns of मण्डलs VI, VII, and many more, and where a greater variety of inner and external construction is observed: (2) the *normal period,* in which perfection rather than originality of form is the aim, to which belong hymns of मण्डलs III, IV, and IX, where two metres are almost exclusively employed, namely, त्रिष्टुभ् and गायत्री where there is little variety but an attempt at uniformity and regularity: (3) the *critic period,* where almost exclusively त्रिष्टुभ् and जगती metres are employed and the critic rhythm is favoured, to which belong many of the hymns of the lst मण्डल and a few of the 10th, a period of tranasition and (4) the *popular period* the hymns of which resemble in form and character, the Atḥarvaveda, to which belong a large number of the hymns of the tenth मण्डल, and of which, the contamination of a त्रिष्टुभ् hymn by जगती stanzas is the characteristic.

Thus, the irregularity in rhythm and the quantity of the different syllables making a foot which an ordinary reader passes by, unnoticed, is only apparent and is the result of the inventive spirit sometimes leading to the construction of new and harmonious forms. For, it is difficult to believe that a professional bard should without motive have left his verse with an irregular rhythm, when any European scholar, without serious practice of the art of versification, can put it into order for him with hardly a perceptible alteration in the meaning. Arnold expresses himself as follows regarding the skill and art of the Vedic bards:"...As works of mechanical art the metres of the Rigveda stand high above those of modern Europe in variety of motive and in flexibility of form. They seem, indeed, to bear the same relation to them as the rich harmonies of classical music to the simple melodies of the peasant. And in proportion as modern students come to appreciate the skill displayed by the Vedic poets, they will be glad to abandon the easy but untenable theory that the variety of form employed by them is due to chance, or the purely personal bias of individuals, and to recognize instead that we find all the signs of a genuine historical[1] development .."

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[1] For criticism see Journ. Roy, As. Soc. 1906. pp, 484 ff; 1912 pp. 726 if.—V. S. S.

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[1] Arnold, *Vedic Metre* p. 21.

LECTURE XIII

THE AGE OF THE RIGVEDA

Linguistic or literary theories-Max Muller's view that the date of Rigveda falls about 1200 B. C.—Objections to the same--Views of Whitney and others--Astronomical theories--Haug's view--Dikshit's view--Tilak's view—Jacobi's theory.

No one now doubts that the Rigveda is the most ancient document of the Aryans, and that although it represents a stage of no mean civilisation, whether in respect of the development of language, or religion, or philosophy, still to us the Rigveda represents the most ancient chapter in the history of the Aryan *history*. Notwithstanding the universal agreement in this respect, there is still a diversity of views regarding the probable age of the Rigveda. On the question of the age of the Rigveda, the final word has yet to be said. I propose to-day to acquaint you briefly with some of the views held on the subject.

The materials for the re-construction of Indian chronology are supplied principally from (1) the literatures of the ब्राह्मणs, the Jainas and the Buddhists, (2) inscriptions on stone or copper plate, coins and seals, and (3) the accounts of foreign writers, chiefly Greek, Latin and Chinese. The question regarding the age of the Rigveda cannot derive any benefit from the last two sources, on account of its extreme antiquity. Thus the only source that remains is the literary evidence, on which are based the so-called literary or linguistic theories.

The most popular of such theories is the one first promulgated by Max Muller, who assigned the Rigveda approximately to 1200 B. C. This date has been accepted very generally. The arguments adduced by Max Muller in favour of his view may be briefly stated as follows :—

To begin with, Max Muller divides the Vedic Literature into four periods, the छन्दस् period, the मन्त्र period, the ब्राह्मण period, and the सूत्र period, on the ground of the nature of language and thought, and the successive stages marked therein, every following period presupposing the existence of the preceding one. To the last or सूत्र period, belong two classes of works named अनुक्रमणीs and परिशिष्टs. Of the authors of अनुक्रमणीs there stand out two, more prominently than the rest, viz. शौनक who wrote अनुक्रमणीs to the Rigveda and कात्यायन who wrote two सर्वानुक्रमणीs, one to the Rigveda, and the other to the White यजुर्वेद. Now if we compare these works, we find, that शौनक writes in mixed श्लोकs and takes great liberty with the metre ; while कात्यायन writes in prose and introduces the artificial contrivances of the later सूत्रs, a difference which is quite in keeping with the general course of Sanskrit literature. Again शौनक's index follows the original division of the Rigveda into मण्डलs, अनुवाकs and सूक्तs ; while कात्यायन has adopted the more practical and more modern division into अष्टकs, अध्यायs and वर्गs. Both agree in following the united शाखा of the शाकलs and बाष्कलs and in excluding the khilas (or supplementary hymns), but the latter has admitted the eleven वालखिल्य hymns, thus bringing the total number of hymns from 1017 to 1028.

From all these indications, we are naturally led to expect that both शौनक and कात्यायन belonged to the same शाखा and that शौनक was anterior to कात्यायन.

From what षड्गुरुशिष्य remarks[1] in his commentary on the सर्वानुक्रमणी of कात्यायन while explaining the genealogy of the latter we can gather that there are four generations of teachers and pupils referred to first शौनक second आश्वलायन, third कात्यायन, and fourth पतञ्जलि. This कात्यायन also identified with वररुचि, is spoken of by सोमदेवभट्ट in his कथासरित्सागर, as having become a minister of king नन्द at पाटलिपुत्र. If we can believe in this tradition, we get here a clue to ascertain the date of कात्यायन.

In the Ancient Sanskrit chronology two dates have been fixed beyond all doubt– the date of Buddha's death (which is 483 B. C.) and that of the coronation of अशोक (270 B. C.), which are regarded as the sheet-anchors of Indian chronology. चन्द्रगुप्त, the founder of the मौर्य empire who was succeeded by बिन्दुसार, whose successor was the great अशोक, reigned between 321 and 297 B. C. It was this चन्द्रगुप्त who put down the नन्दs, with whom कात्यायन is connected as minister. Thus कात्यायन's date is about 325 B. C.

पतञ्जलि the writer of the व्याकरण महाभाष्य has been now generally assigned to the second century B. C. which also, allowing sufficient period to elapse between him and कात्यायन, the writer of the वार्त्तिकs, points to the 4th century B. C. as the age of the latter.

आश्वलायन's date would then be about 350 B. C. and शौनक's about 400 B. C. But as शौनक's work cannot belong to the earliest productions of the सूत्र period, and as some more works after कात्यायन must have been written during the सूत्र

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[1] See *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*. p. 233,

period. the सूत्र period may be supposed to have extended roughly speaking, from 600 to 200 B. C.

The same conclusion is confirmed by a consideration of the style and language of the works known by the name of the परिशिष्टs which are the last offshoots of the सूत्र period. What distinguishes these परिशिष्टs from the सूत्रs is that they treat everything in a popular and superficial manner. The tendency to make everything easy even to the extent of superficiality, leads one to think that the party which had to follow such tactics had to fight against a strong enemy who was gaining more and more ground in the course of time. Even the adoption of the सूत्र style proves that in the opinion of the authors of the सूत्रs, no one would listen to wisdom unless it is clothed in a garb of clear argument and communicated in intelligible language. Thus the सूत्र period must be contemporaneous with the gradual decline of Brahmanism and the steady rise of Buddhism, a stage of thought which is distinctly reflected in the परिशिष्टs. From this point of view also, it follows that the सूत्र period should extend from 600 to 200 B. C.

As the सूत्रs necessarily presuppose the existence of the ब्राह्मणs whose complicated system of theology and ceremonial was sought to be simplified by the सूत्रs, the ब्राह्मण period extends backward from 600 B. C., to 800 B. C., taking about 200 years to be the minimum period necessary for the progress of thought and literary activity, such as the establishment of the three-fold ceremonial, the composition and collection of the ब्राह्मणs and the ramification of the ब्राह्मण चरणs

The ब्राह्मण period however, exhibits a stratum of thought perfectly unintelligible without the admission of a preceding age, during which all that is misunderstood, perverted and absurd in the ब्राह्मणs, had its natural growth. But even between these two ages, there must have been an age when the spirit was at work in the literature of India, no longer creative, free and original, but living only on the heritage of a former age, collecting, classifying and imitating. This may be called the मन्त्र period and may be supposed to have extended over two hundred years, viz., from 1000 to 800 B. C.

The three periods of Vedic literature spoken of so far, viz. the सूत्र, ब्राह्मण and मन्त्र periods, all point to some earlier age which gave birth to the hymns of the early ऋषिs-a time when the songs which were collected with such careful zeal in the मन्त्र period, commented upon with such elaborate pedantry during the ब्राह्मण period, and examined and analysed with such minute exactness during the सूत्र period, lived and were understood without any effort, – a time characterized by spontaneity, originality and truth. This छन्दस् period may be supposed to extend over 200 years, from 1200 to 1000 B.C. Thus the date of the Rigveda would fall about 1200 B. C

The unsatisfactory character of this view is easily seen. In the first place, arguments based on the nature of language and thought are not, generally speaking, conclusive in themselves, unless they are supported by any other independent proof.

Secondly the theory is based upon some assumptions which have yet to be proved conclusively—*e.g.* the identity of the Vedic कात्यायन and the grammarian कात्यायन and the historical importance to be attached to the statement of षड्गुरुशिष्य and सोमदेवभट्ट. which are the main planks in the whole argument.

Thirdly, there is not sufficient reason shown why 200 years in particular should be assigned to each of the periods in the Vedic Literature. We may as well assign 500 or 1000 years to each of them. And there are scholars who have done so. Of coure, Max Mullar has concluded his remarks with the following qualification: "The chronological limits assigned to the सूत्र and ब्राह्मण periods will seem to most Sanskrit scholars too narrow rather than too wide, and if we assign but 200 years to the मन्त्र period from 800 to 1000 B.C., and an equal number to the छन्दस् period from 1000 to 1200 B. C., we can do so only under the supposition that during the early periods of history, the growth of the human mind was more luxuriant than in later times, and that the layers of thought were framed less slowly in the primary than in the tertiary ages of the world." It may be seen that the estimate made by Max Müller is ridiculously low even from the point of view of the progress of language and thought. The difference of character between the Vedic Sanskrit and the Classical Sanskrit is so great that it must have required a very long period indeed for the language to progress from one step of development to another, as may appear probable from a comparison of the history of other languages and it must be remembered that the Classical Sanskrit, which we have at present, has been substantially unaltered in nature and essence since the 2nd century B. C. I mean since the महाभाष्य of पतञ्जलि. Even Max Mnller himself afterwards called this estimate too low and named the period from 1500-1200 B.C.. as the period of composition of the Vedic hymns.

Similar, estimates have been made by other scholars. Thus, Whitney calls the period from 2000-1500 B. C., the period of the oldest hymns—an estimate, says Kaegi which, if we take everything into account is certainly not too high and which has the greatest claims to probability. Benfey also says: "It can hardly be doubted that the most eastern branch had their abode on the Indus as early as 2000 years before the christian era." Weber has placed the migration into the Indus land in the 16th century B. C.

Thus it may be seen that the linguistic or literary theories fail to fix with certainty the date of the Rigveda.[1] As Kaegi remarks, the determination of the Vedic period deduced from the difference in language and in the religious and social views between the hymns and the fixed dates of Buddhism, can approximate the true period only by centuries.

But there are the astronomical theories which have advanced the question of the vedic age considerably and which at least possess far greater certainty than the theories merely based upon a consideration and comparison of language and thought.

Thus Haug on the ground of a passage in the वेदाङ्ग ज्योतिष referring to the position of the solstitial points determines the age of the Veda. The position given in this passage[1] carries us back to the year 1186 B. C. which must be the time of वेदाङ्ग ज्योतिष, Haug comes to two conclusions from this reference: (1) that the Indians had made already such a considerable progress in astronomical science early in the 12th century B, C., as to enable them to take such observations and (2) that by that time the whole ritual in its main features as laid down in the ब्राह्मणs was complete. Thus he assigns the composition of the bulk of the ब्राह्मणs to the years 1400-1200 B. C. Taking 500-600 years for the संहिता, the age of the bulk of the संहिता falls between 2000 to 1400 B.C. The oldest hymns and sacrifiicial formulas being a few hundred years more ancient still, the very commencement of Vedic literature may be fixed between 2400-2000 B. C.

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[1], The mention of four Vedic deities in the Boghaz-kci clay tablets has been brought to bear on the question of the age of the Rigveda, and the migrations of Indo-Aryan tribes. The yield in point of historical information is so scanty, that we must confess that it is yet too early to dogmatise over the results of this find— — V. S. S.

Shankara Bilkrishna Dikshit, in his भारतीय ज्योतिःशास्त्र has hit upon one passage in the शतपथ ब्राह्मण which determines the age of the work

एकं द्वे त्रीणि चत्वारीति वा अन्यानि नक्षत्राण्यथैता एव भूयिष्ठा यत्कृत्तिकास्तद्भूमानमेवैतदुपैति तस्मात्कृत्तिकास्वादधीत ॥ एता ह वै प्राच्यै दिशो न च्यवन्ते सर्वाणि ह वा अन्यानि नक्षत्राणि प्राच्यै दिशश्च्यवन्ते । दशपथ ब्राह्मण 2. 1. 2

The phenomenon that the कृत्तिकाs were seen to rise exactly at the eastern point from which they never swerved (whereas at present they rise a little to the northern side of the eastern point), points to a period about 3000 years B. C. which must be, therefore, the time of the composition of that ब्राह्मण. The तैत्तिरीय संहिता which must have preceded the शतपथ, and which also mentions कृत्तिका and other नक्षत्रs, must be about 200 years before this period while the Rigveda संहिता, which is decisively older than the तैत्तिरीय संहिता must be still older.

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[1] प्रपद्येते श्रविष्ठादौ सूर्याचन्द्रमसावुदक् ।
सार्पार्धे दक्षिणार्कस्तु माघश्रावणयोः सदा ॥
Rigveda Jyot. verse 6.

Tilak in his *Orion* has proved even a greater antiquity for the hymns of the Rigveda. He has endeavoured to show therein that " the traditions recorded in the Rigveda unmistakably point to a period not later than 4000 B.C. when the vernal equinox was in Orion, or, in other words, when the Dog-star (or the Dog as we have it in the Rigveda) commenced the equinoctial year."[1] On the ground of the several astronomical references scattered about in the ancient Sanskrit literature, he has arrived at four different periods. The oldest period is the Aditi or pre-Orion period, with the vernal equinox at or near पुनर्वसु, roughly extending from 6000 B. C. to 4000 B. C. It was a period when the finished hymns seem not to have been known and half prose and half poetical Nivids or sacrificial formulae " giving the principal names, epithets and feats of the deity invoked " were probably in use. The next is the Orion period, roughly extending from 4000 B C. to 2500 B. C. from the time when the vernal equinox was in the asterism आर्द्रा to the time when it receded to the asterism कृत्तिका. The whole of the so-called वृषाकपि hymn (X. 86), which is very obscure. can be at least more satisfactorily explained than has hitherto been done both by Indian commentators and modern European scholars, on the supposition that it refers to the fact of the equinoxes coinciding with the Orion. This second period is the most important period in the history of the Aryan civilization. A good many सूक्तs in the Rigveda were composed at thls time. This is the proper, most active, Vedic period. The third is the कृत्तिका period. commencing with the vernal equinox in the asterism कृत्तिका and extending up to the period recorded in the वेदाङ्ग ज्योतिष *i. e.* from 2500 B. C. to 1400 B. C. It was the period of the तैत्तिरीय:संहिता and several of the ब्राह्मणs. The hymns of the Rigveda had already become antique and unintelligible by this time and speculations, often too free, about al meaning of these hymns and legends, were indulged in. The fourth and the last period extends from 1400 B. C. to 500 B. C. or to the birth and rise of Buddhism. It was the period of the सूत्रs and philosophical systems.

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[1] Tilak. *Orion*, Preface, p iii.

Jacobi also has put forth a theory according to which the period of Rigveda goes back to at least 4000 B. C. This theory is also based on astronomical calculations connected with a change in the beginning of the season which has taken place since the time of the Rigveda.[1]

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[1] *Festgruss an Roth*, pp. 68 ff.—*Indian Antiquary* Vol. XXIII. pp. 154 ff. A refutation of the theory has been again recently attempted in the *Cambridge History* of *India*. Vol. I. P.III f.—Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has pointed out a new line of approach to the problem of the Vedic age. He suggests that the inquiry should take its start from the word Asura. Arguing on the line of the identity of Asura and Assyrian, he comes to the conclusion that the origin of the hymnal literature may be pushed back to about B. C. 2500.—V. S. S.

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पुस्तक-वितरण की तिथि नीचे अंकित है इस तिथि सहित १५ वें दिन तक यह पुस्तक पुस्तकालय मे वापिस आ जानी चाहिए। अन्यथा ५ पैसे प्रतिदिन के हिसाब से विलम्ब दण्ड लगेगा।

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	Duplex Filter	turbine oil going to bearings should ensure cleanliness of 37 microns.Flow requirement is 130-250m3/hr and design pressure 8.5kg/cm2. Changeover valve should necessarily be port & disk type. Filter should be mounted with diff.pr. switch.	
150	Jacking Oil Duplex Filter	Duplex type of filter used in turbine oil medium at design pr 250kg/cm2 and flow 7m3/hr.Filter should be able to clean upto 37 micron particles. Changeover valve should be port & disk type should be mounted with diff. pr switch	7nos
151	Earth Filter	2x50% filter filled with fuller's earth(Floridin Altapulgus clay) to maintain chemical properties of fire resistant fluid(Phosphoric esters).Volumetric flow through each filter approx.7.5 lit/min at design pressure 3.0 bar and temperature approx-	

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148	Gasket profile	viton gasket having typical crose sectional area(as per drg No.3-11901-50050) suitable oil medium working temp. 55°C to 65°C shore hardness A70-65 and resistance against phosphates till 80°C.	100M	
149	Full flow duplex	Duplex type of filter used for turbine oil going to bearings	7 nos	